THE NATION

JANUARY 29, 1973 50 cents

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Reporting on Chile
WHAT THE PRESS LEAVES OUT
JOHN POLLOCK

Revenue Sharing
THE NEXT DOMESTIC DISASTER
AMITAI ETZIONI & MARINA OTTAWAY

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LETTERS

McNamara's move

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: Mr. McNamara has asked me to thank you for sending the tear sheets of the Bertram Gross article ["Unemployment: The Snag in Development," *The Nation*, Dec. 11]. He appreciates, too, your offer that he comment on the issues raised. Mr. McNamara has no comment.

But as an old admirer of your publication, I do have one. It seems to me ironical that Professor Gross should categorize Mr. McNamara's statements as polished, but empty, rhetoric in view of the fact that the five points suggested by the professor as solutions to the employment problem in the developing world have all been made in print by Mr. McNamara himself.

In the light of this, I am afraid that Professor Gross's categorization is itself not only questionable rhetoric but inexplicably uninformed. *John L. Maddux*

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

New York City

DEAR SIRS: If World Bank President McNamara has paralleled all my proposals for raising employment levels and redistributing income in Third World countries, that indeed proves that his rhetoric has been well polished.

The possible emptiness of his rhetoric, however, is suggested by at least two other factors: (*1*) increasing unemployment and concentrated wealth and power in such countries as Brazil and Indonesia, where McNamara's past Bank policies have been followed most heartily; and (*2*) the *continued* emphasis of the Bank on such traditional matters as labor-intensive investment, GNP, balance of payments, savings and price stability, without putting these elements of policy into a broader framework aimed at major reductions in underemployment and a restructuring of oligarchic power.

If a genuine change in aims and policies has been worked out with respect to Bank policies in even *one* country, Messrs. McNamara and Maddux have been keeping it a secret. Let them name the country and give the facts—so that ordinary people (and professors) may no longer remain "inexplicably uninformed." How else can anyone tell the difference between fancy talk (like Mr. McNamara's promises when, as Secretary of Defense, he spoke liberally about land reform and democracy in South Vietnam) and real efforts to change direction of the intellectually and morally bankrupt policies of the past?

If Mr. McNamara means business in changing the substance of World Bank policies, he had better be prepared to make a stronger (and more open) fight than he did toward the end of the Johnson administration when he opposed the bombing of North Vietnam on grounds of cost-effectiveness. He had better be prepared to bring moral (as well as technical) considerations into the open and seek a constituency broader than bankers in both the developed and the developing nations. Otherwise, we may see this episode quickly ended—as was his position at the Defense Department. . . . And if he is going to be moved out (as I would predict), let it be not with the small whimper of a Romney or the medium-sized whimper of a Hickel but with the kind of cogent analysis of past mistakes and future difficulties which would help illuminate the growing tragedy of errors in the provision of so-called "help" to developing countries. *Bertram M. Gross*

correction

In "American Electric Power: The Visionary Octopus," by William H. Rodgers, Jr. (*The Nation*, Jan. 8), the next to last paragraph should have begun: "The SEC's Division of Corporate Regulation reports. . . ." Mention of the division was inadvertently dropped from the printed text; the editors regret the omission.

EDITORIALS

The Grand Design

It is now possible to examine, not in detail but in grand design, the President's governmental reorganization program—a program, it should be noted, that has been carried out by Executive fiat, without Congressional approval or consultation. Mr. Nixon, in effect, has set up a "super Cabinet": Human Resources (Caspar Weinberger), Community Development (James Lynn), Natural Resources (Earl Butz). All three men are Cabinet officers, but they are now "counselors" as well, and will presumably supervise other departments that fall within the scope of their new assignments. Above these three will be an appropriately "super" secretariat consisting of George P. Shultz (economic matters), Henry Kissinger (foreign affairs), H. R. Haldeman (White House administration), John D. Ehrlichman (domestic affairs) and Roy Ash, director of OMB, designated as a kind of supreme efficiency expert, who will keep an eye on the bureaucracy while looking out for Litton Industries.

The obvious effect of this scheme is to lower the prestige, standing and relative independence of Cabinet posts. It is clear that the President wants to deal with men who will do his bidding, not with those who enjoy an independent political base or special constituency. Romney and Hickel were probably the last of his Cabinet officers in the traditional sense. The new Cabinet is staffed by men who, whatever their skills and virtues, do not represent a potential political threat; they are "the President's men." To insure this status, Cabinet officers are now subject to "counselors," who are in turn subject to upper functionaries, who are subject to the President. But all Cabinet officers, including the "counselors," have Nixon-designated subordinates who report directly to White House aides.

Even before this new dispensation was effected, it was apparent that the Nixon Cabinet did not function as a Cabinet, that particular Cabinet officers had been denied access to the President, and were being scrutinized and graded in terms of their associations, their life styles and the cocktail parties they attended. Naturally, the new Cabinet nominees decline to answer relevant questions at confirmation hearings, preferring, as James Reston puts it, to face the "fire" of Congress rather than the "ire" of the President and his key aides.

Nor is it only the Cabinet that is being downgraded and "coordinated." The regulatory agencies, by and large, have not fulfilled the expectations of the New Dealers who created them a generation ago. Too often the interests to be regulated have regulated the regulators. On occasion, too, these agencies have been used and manipulated politically. But the Nixon approach is different. Some twelve White House aides have been moved into second-level posts in various departments and agencies; in each instance they report directly to the White House aides under whom they were trained and who sponsored them for their present posts. In this manner, the White House has been provided with what one "knowledgeable official" described to Jack Rosenthal of *The New York*

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Times as "an instant bush telegraph into the jungle." The various agencies and departments will remain in place—only Congress can break them up, abolish them or create new ones—but the effect will be to make departments and agencies directly responsible to the White House staff. And with obvious consequences. Currently, for example, two of the President's close friends, Donald Kendall and Elmer Bobst, are reported to be "unhappy" about the FTC which, since its "revitalization" some years ago, is now thought to be "too aggressive." The prospect is for instant devitalization. Departments and agencies have in fact been permeated—some would say infiltrated—to such a degree that their ability to carry out the missions Congress assigned them has been impaired.

The apparent effect of this grand design is to enhance the power of the Presidency at a time when feeling is widespread that it should be curtailed. But it is not so much the power of the President that is being enhanced as it is the power of those "faceless men," the key White House aides. George E. Reedy pointed out in a recent *Nation* article (January 1) that these men exercise Presidential powers without specific constitutional sanction and are quite free of any obligation to inform or consult with House and Senate committees. True, they are subject to the President's control, but it is a fair inference that the extent to which he supervises them is more than matched by the extent to which they manipulate him and influence policy and decision making. The grand design isolates the President still further from Congress, bureaucracy, press and public. And this, too, is happening at a time when his increasing isolation has begun to disturb all shades of opinion. The President seems to have taken the private corporation as his model of how the federal government should be run; it is apparent that he has little respect for the constitutional model.

But there is, so to speak, a problem behind the problem. Denis Brogan, veteran British observer and student of American political institutions, points out in *The Christian Science Monitor* that "the office of the President has become the great overshadowing force in the American political system." This states the problem. But the power the President reflects is the power that the United States has come to possess since World War II. Given the extent of that power, Mr. Brogan notes, "the vacancy of power" would be "as much a fact of power as its full employment." Attempts to impose particular restraints on the power of the President may be useful—even imperative—but the real problem is to find "some way of harnessing this political Niagara."

And Now There Are Two

As the Watergate "mystery" deepens, the alibis become more preposterous. Pleading guilty to all counts, E. Howard Hunt, Jr., tells us that he was trying to advance the best interests of his country. This translates out into a statement that, since he thought the future of America hinged on the re-election of Nixon, he was justified in committing acts of political espionage and sabotage against Nixon's opposition. Four other defendants, also while pleading guilty, have said they were motivated by their undying hatred, as "freedom fighters,"

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The Nation is published weekly (except biweekly in July and August) by the Nation Company and copyright 1973 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Price: One year $15; two years, $27.50. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give five weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION

Volume 216
No. 5

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of Fidel Castro and communism. This translates out as: George McGovern was or might somehow be in league with Fidel Castro; hence the break-in was justified. A remaining defendant, we are told, will take the position that he feared for Nixon's life at Miami and was thus justified in doing what he did. There is no indication, however, from what his counsel has said, that he notified the police, FBI, CIA (with whom the defendants had close connections), or the Army, Navy, Air Force or Marines of his apprehensions. Small wonder that at one point in his interrogation of those who wanted to—and did—plead guilty, Judge Sirica said: "I don't believe what you are saying."

Judge Sirica recognized from the outset the prime importance of bringing the real facts to light. He has tried hard to do just that, and he must feel somewhat frustrated. The five guilty pleas go far to seal the record. As to the remaining defendants, they will no doubt appeal if convicted and they may have a good issue—namely, the difficulty of keeping the jurors from knowing that five defendants have entered pleas of guilty to all charges.

There remains, of course, the possibility that the full facts, or most of them, may yet be disclosed when Sen. Sam Ervin begins his investigation. Senator Mansfield wisely decided to ask Senator Ervin to conduct the investigation. He is a diligent investigator and has an excellent staff. Senator Kennedy, who was never really enthusiastic about undertaking the job, is too "political" a figure for the task. But Senator Irvin will run into difficulties not unlike those Judge Sirica has encountered. He will not be the beneficiary of any assistance from the White House or from the Committee to Re-Elect the President. Aides, if summoned, will no doubt plead "executive privilege" or find other reasons for not disclosing what they know about Watergate. Defendants who have entered pleas of guilty will probably invoke the Fifth Amendment or simply decline to testify. It is a fair inference that they anticipate Executive clemency—after an appropriate interval. The FBI is not likely to cooperate with Senator Ervin, in part because Congressional committees are supposed to rely on their own staffs. The magnitude of the investigation is indicated by the fact that the FBI claims to have interviewed 300 witnesses.

On the basis of the record to date, an important conclusion can be drawn. If the Executive wants to put the lid on an issue of the importance of Watergate, it stands a good chance of being able to do so, despite strong judicial and legislative efforts to force full disclosure. For what we know about Watergate, we are largely indebted not to the judicial or legislative branches of the government but to the fine investigative reporting of *The Washington Post, The New York Times,* the Washington *Star,* the *Los Angeles Times* and other papers whose diligent and able reporters tapped unidentified sources, exploited leaks and constantly pressed for further disclosures. That there is more to know—and that our chances of knowing it are not bright—does not detract from the force of this statement. If there was ever an apt illustration of the irreplaceable importance of good investigative journalism, and of the wisdom of permitting reporters to protect confidential sources, it is the record of the Watergate case to date.

Honors and Credits

E. Howard Hunt, Jr., appears to have been guilty of a bit of political seduction, in addition to his conspiring, tapping, etc., in the Watergate case. He recruited an honors student at Brigham Young University to spy on Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, and later Sen. George McGovern, while they were contending for the Democratic nomination. The student, Thomas J. Gregory, got some money out of it, and a lot more trouble.

For $175 a week, Gregory was to report to Hunt on developments in Senator Muskie's office, where he was working ostensibly as a volunteer. When it appeared that Senator McGovern would get the nomination, Gregory was switched to his headquarters. He does not appear to have done yeoman service in either location, but the matter is complicated, so far as Brigham Young is concerned, by the fact that Gregory, a history major, claimed off-campus credit for his political activity, the nature of which he could not very well divulge to his faculty adviser. Gregory was to graduate in April. Now the president of the university, Dr. Dallin H. Oaks, says he faces suspension or expulsion; even if he escapes that, the sixteen hours' credit will probably be denied him. The Mormons are pretty strict about violations of the university code of honor.

Hunt did ask Gregory if he had any qualms about spying on the Democrats, and Gregory did not. He would meet Hunt in a hotel lobby or a drugstore, turn over his findings and receive in return an envelope containing $175 in cash. He quit just before the Watergate burglary, although he apparently helped in an earlier attempt to break into the McGovern headquarters. He was on hand, also, when James W. McCord, Jr., tried to plant a bug in the office of Frank Mankiewicz, one of McGovern's principal aides.

Gregory turned in a 15-page course paper in which he concluded that "politics doesn't conform with the pie-in-the-sky, rosy view most people have of it." That most people have such a view is doubtful, but few will dispute Gregory's further conclusion that "very few people in the campaign staffs are in a decision-making position, and it is hard to locate those who make decisions." Hard? Damned near impossible, sometimes.

There is a moral aspect to this involvement that should not be overlooked. The President of the United States is supposed to set an example of political ethics for all the people, and particularly for the young. He is always talking about this inspiring role. Was Gregory, then, automatically to back away from a proposal with which the President was charged with notice and responsibility? To be sure, we don't know how much the President knew about the activities of such as Hunt and McCord, nor how much John Mitchell knew, but a young man might be tempted to assume that the job he was assigned to was in the normal line of politics.

What young Gregory may learn from this point on may be more important to him than what he learned in his months as a spy. He was 25 years old and unversed in the ways of politics. Now, as a witness for the prosecution in the Watergate trial, he will be in an excellent position to see how the wheels spin and the gears mesh.

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His faculty adviser spoke angrily about "the nefarious creeps who came skulking around and lured him into it for $175 a week." It is not pleasant for a young man to be in such a position, especially as what the professor said is forcefully and justifiably phrased. We hope nevertheless that Gregory can write a really enlightening paper and perhaps get his credits after all.

Farm Labor: New Phase

The Teamsters union and the American Farm Bureau Federation each has a membership of about 2 million. Recently an alliance has been formed between these two mammoth organizations—one of labor, the other of management—to destroy Cesar Chavez's AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Union. When the UFW began to organize workers in the lettuce fields of California, Arizona and Colorado in 1970, the Teamsters suddenly appeared on the scene to claim exclusive bargaining rights. Recognition was granted on the same day it was demanded, and shortly thereafter the Teamsters and about forty-five growers signed five-year contracts giving the union exclusive bargaining rights for farm workers. Then in August of 1970, the employers obtained an injunction against the organizing activities of the UFW under a California statute designed to protect an employer against conflicting union demands in a so-called "jurisdictional dispute." But the conflict persisted until the Roman Catholic Bishops Committee on Farm Labor intervened and negotiated a "cease-fire" of sorts, whereby the Teamsters had jurisdiction over truck drivers and other farm workers doing mechanical jobs inside packing sheds, and the UFW had jurisdiction over field workers.

And so the matter rested until Frank Fitzsimmons, who succeeded Hoffa as president of the Teamsters, recently addressed delegates to the Farm Bureau's convention in Los Angeles, charging that the UFW was a "revolutionary movement which is perpetrating a fraud on the American public." He also announced that some $250,000 would be thrown into the fight against the UFW and called for an alliance between the growers and the Teamsters. Fitzsimmons, who has ego problems, is reported to be furious at the wide public support Chavez has been able to mobilize for the UFW, and to be piqued because Hoffa signed the "lettuce boycott" pledge.

At this same convention, the Farm Bureau adopted a resolution submitted by the *California* delegation which in effect reversed the organization's historic opposition to the inclusion of farm labor within the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. The position of the bureau now is that, with some modifications, it would like to see farm labor brought within the purview of the act. What the growers seek, of course, is some means by which they can check the effective use which the UFW has made of the boycott. (They may also have been influenced by the fact that the NLRB is now Nixon-dominated.) In the wake of Fitzsimmons' speech, the Roman Catholic Bishops tried again to intervene but were brushed aside. So now a major battle looms.

But what Fitzsimmons and his allies did not anticipate was the almost simultaneous 6-to-1 decision of the California Supreme Court which dissolved the 1970 injunction against the UFW and found, in effect, that the agreements between the growers and the Teamsters were collusive. The majority opinion points out that the Teamsters had been given exclusive bargaining rights—"the ultimate form of favoritism"—with no attempt being made to find out which union the workers preferred. The decision is of major importance. It represents perhaps the first time in which a major established union has been found by the court to be helping an employer keep out another union. A special odium, of course, has long attached to "sweetheart" contracts of this kind. The California Supreme Court cannot be praised too highly for the rare courage exhibited in this case. Only those familiar with the power structure that supports agri-biz in California can appreciate the pressures and the hazards which the court faced.

Now the UFW has filed two actions in the federal district court, charging a conspiracy between the Teamsters and the growers, and seeking some $85 million in damages. Of course, the action will be bitterly contested and the growers will seek legislation, state or federal or both, to back them up in their opposition to any form of genuine collective bargaining by farm workers. But the voters of California, in the November election, decisively defeated an initiative which would have placed severe limitations on UFW activities, so it may not be quite as easy as it has been in the past to get legislative assistance.

The irony of the major battle that will now be waged between the UFW and its public allies on the one hand, and the Teamsters, the Farm Bureau Federation and the growers on the other, is that the Teamsters probably do not want to organize farm workers. On several occasions *The Nation* has said editorially that the Teamsters have never organized, in any legitimate sense, a single farm worker in California; when they have shown an interest in farm workers it has always been for some undisclosed reason. In this instance, the Teamsters see that field work is being rapidly mechanized and, once the process is further advanced, there will be many unemployed farm workers who will try to get jobs in the sheds and canneries. If at that time these workers were members of the UFW, an effort might be made to throw the Teamsters out, or so the union imagines. However one views this latest development, the Teamsters—more accurately the present leadership—emerge in a most unpleasant light.

Education for What?

In the latest *Fortune* ranking of the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations, TRW, formerly Thompson Ramo Wooldridge, came in seventy-fifth. That's big—bigger than companies like National Steel, National Cash Register, Alcoa and Standard Oil of Ohio. To get up that far a company must have sales of about $1.5 billion and assets of a billion or more. Like other companies in that bracket, TRW publishes a company newspaper, *Sentinel*, for its more than 70,000 employees.

In the December 15, 1972 issue, the public relations people who edit the paper fortuitously placed in juxtaposition two items captioned respectively: "$35 Million Fltsatcom Satellite Contract Awarded to TRW Systems" and "Grant By TRW to Support Academy Education Center." "Fltsatcom" stands for "Fleet Satellite Commu-

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nications" and the contracting agency is SAMSO ("Air Force Systems Command's Space and Missile Systems").

The gift to the Air Force Education Center is relatively modest—$100,000—and we do not suggest a connection with the $35 million contract. But what is the objective? The center, to be located at the Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs, is being planned and developed by the Air Force Academy Foundation, Inc., described by *Sentinel* as "a private, nonprofit, nongovernmental education organization, working in association with the Academy." The program of the education center will initially be devoted to "current national issues. Primary emphasis will be placed on youth, traditional American values, civilian applications of military technology and other major interest areas."

Blowing it up a bit more, Robert A. Newman, TRW's vice president of community affairs, described the education center as "a major and important national undertaking which, once in operation, should go a long way toward building a greater understanding between the civilian and military worlds." No doubt other defense contractors will contribute toward this civilian-military harmony but, realistically, some formidable obstacles are to be expected.

One is a commander in chief of all the services who rarely takes the public into his confidence and, when he essays to do so, does not inspire unwavering trust. Another is the war of the United States against Southeast Asia, begun in President Eisenhower's second term and brought to a pause—how temporary one does not know at this writing—after three years, eleven months and twenty-five days of President Nixon's first term. Explaining how this carnage comports with traditional American values is one of the future tasks of the education center. Then, after the Hanoi-Haiphong bombings decreed by Mr. Nixon, some doubts have arisen not only among voters who contributed to his landslide but among Air Force officers—doubts which may filter down to the cadets at Colorado Springs. If they should start pondering national issues, many of them might join Air Force Capt. Michael J. Heck who, slightly in advance of the President, decided there had been killing enough.

REPORTING ON CHILE

WHAT THE PRESS LEAVES OUT

JOHN POLLOCK
Mr. Pollock teaches in the Departments of Sociology and of Political Science at Livingston College, Rutgers University. He is a member of the Chile Research Group at Livingston.

On December 9, 1972, five days after Chile's President Allende delivered a speech at the United Nations critical of the machinations of International Telephone and Telegraph and Kennecott Copper in Chile, *The New York Times* ran an editorial, "What Allende Left Out." The *Times* suggested that Allende had done a "clever" job at the U.N., "depicting Chile as an innocent 'victim of serious aggression,' a target for a cunning new 'imperialism,' practiced by giant American corporations with the connivance and support of the United States Government." The paper admitted that ITT and the U.S. Government had been less than friendly to Allende, but chided him for failing to mention that, prior to nationalization, Kennecott had loaned money to Chile and had helped it obtain Export-Import Bank credit. It also implied that the Administration was to be congratulated for ignoring "ITT's appeal for CIA and other government help for a 1971 scheme designed to make sure that the Allende government 'does not get through the crucial next six months.' "

For those unfamiliar with recent developments in Chile or with our press coverage of them, the *Times* editorial might have appeared reasonable. But close examination of political events there and our reporting of them yields a quite different impression: it is not Allende but the U.S. press which has left out a great deal.

Typical press coverage of Allende's visit is best examined by referring to the major U.S. newspapers which report regularly on Latin American affairs: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Miami Herald* and the *Los Angeles Times*. These papers generally included the following information in reports on Allende's speech: (*a*) he called Chile the victim of serious economic aggression by U.S. corporations, banks and governmental agencies, accomplished through denial of previously available loans, interference by ITT in Chile's internal affairs, and a boycott of Chile's copper in foreign markets; (*b*) he called the economic blockade of his country an infringement of Chile's sovereignty, condemned by U.N. resolutions, and a problem for all Third World countries; and (*c*) ITT and Kennecott denied any efforts at interference in Chile's internal affairs or other wrongdoing.

Divergent opinions were presented, but the appearance of "balance" was specious. Although President Allende's views and those of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations George Bush, as well as those of ITT and Kennecott Copper companies, were all mentioned, none of the opinions was investigated or tested in any serious way. These leading newspapers did not simply fail to weigh evidence regarding the charges made; they never raised any serious questions about the charges at all. The overall impression given was that Allende was pandering to an automatic anti-American sentiment easily aroused in an audience comprised largely of Third World countries.

None of the newspapers had prepared readers for

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Allende's visit with substantial background information on Chile and its concerns. None of them mentioned that at stops en route in Peru and Mexico, Allende had been accorded tumultuous welcomes, the one in Mexico rivaling, if it did not surpass, President Kennedy's reception there. (Only *The Wall Street Journal* mentioned the previous stops.) Referring to ITT activities in Chile, three of the newspapers, including *The New York Times*, failed to mention ITT correspondence—revealed by Jack Anderson and never denied by ITT—which implicated the company in efforts to topple the Allende government. And only the *Miami Herald* linked ITT to reports of a specific subversive act: terrorist activities culminating in the assassination of Chile's Gen. René Schneider, army commander in chief.

Only *The Wall Street Journal* noted that Allende's nationalization actions were legal, having been authorized by a constitutional amendment, passed unanimously by the Chilean congress in January 1971 which set forth procedures for expropriating mines owned by Anaconda and Kennecott. (The most important provision was, in the *Journal*'s words, that "any profits since 1955 in excess of 12 per cent of the concern's investments in Chile should be deducted from the payment for the expropriated properties.") The *Journal* was alone again in devoting substantial attention to Allende's claim that Kennecott had arranged a boycott of Chile's copper exports to European ports. In fact, it was the only paper which considered the issue of corporation-induced embargoes against small countries sufficiently important to explore in detail. Nor did any paper attempt to determine (and only *The New York Times* mentioned at all) whether Kennecott Copper had made astronomical profits in Chile. According to the *Times* (December 5), Allende charged that, from 1955 to 1970, Kennecott made an average annual profit of 52.8 per cent on its investment. That high return would doubtless have provoked substantial comment if reported in any context other than that of Allende's critical speech.

The omission of important questions was not the only striking tendency in press reporting on Allende's U.N. presentation. Also evident were characterizations of the Chilean President as essentially insincere and duplicitous, suggestions that he was more concerned with maintaining an act, charade, or popular posture than with accomplishing what he has often claimed to care about: the achievement of socialism within a democratic framework.

Noteworthy in this connection was *The New York Times*'s editorial with reference to Allende's "cleverness" at the U.N. A *Washington Post* editorial tried to dismiss Allende's presentation as full of "inflammatory tinsel," insinuating that "beleaguered Chile's beleaguered President did—unfortunately—the easy popular thing. Eschewing the more sober manner in which he has often addressed his own people, Mr. Allende instead indulged in dubious and gaudy rhetoric" (December 7).

New York Times staff correspondent Robert Alden implied that sincere leftists cannot or should not dress well when he wrote: "With his slightly graying hair and trimmed mustache, his impeccably tailored, blue-gray suit and white shirt, Dr. Allende looked more like an international banker than a Marxist leader" (December 5). And *Monitor* correspondent David Winder suggested that Allende was essentially posturing when he noted that, "in the heat-white light of the world's television cameras, the red spots on the Chilean President Allende's tie burned as boldly as the speech he delivered to the Assembly. Though he appeared more like a general about to do battle—with his bristly mustache, erect walk and grave manner—he was obviously anxious to appear the popular celebrity" (December 5). Such characterizations hint that the Chilean President is ineffectual and ridiculous, not to be taken seriously by serious people.

The crucial questions left unasked and the belittling portrait of Allende presented in press reports, especially in the editorials of two of the nation's foremost opinion shapers, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, are not simply troublesome elements in the press coverage of a single event. Rather, they are part of a consistent set of themes and omissions periodically evident in reporting on Chile ever since Allende's election in September 1970. Careful analysis of that reporting reveals several disturbing tendencies.

Our newspapers have usually omitted information on the vast majority of Chileans who comprise the lower classes and parts of the middle classes, a substantial portion of which voted for Allende. Most reporting on citizen reaction to the Allende regime seems based on interviews with privileged national business leaders (e.g., *Miami Herald*, January 21, 1971; *The New York Times*, January 20-25, 1971), large landowners (*The Christian Science Monitor*, April 26, 1971), or owners of medium-sized firms (*The New York Times Magazine*, October 17, 1971). The results of such interviews, anti-Allende in tone, are presented as typical of popular reaction to the new President. Seldom are opinions solicited from those most likely to support Allende: organized labor, unorganized labor, the unemployed, farmers on small and medium-sized plots of land, and the poor generally.

A second noticeable omission in U.S. reporting on Chile is the failure to cover right-wing activities. Left-wing activities, by contrast, receive substantial attention. For example, many articles have been written about the threat to Chile's political system from the Left Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria*, or MIR). The importance the U.S. press attaches to the MIR is evident in the number of articles which mention it and in detailed attempts to specify the precise nature of its ideology (roughly, Peking-oriented, capable of engaging in disruptive activities).

Genuine concern about threats to the stability of the Chilean political system would, one might suppose, stimulate press coverage of political activity on both the Left and the Right. Yet even a cursory review of press reports will disabuse anyone of that assumption. Activities of Right extremist organizations such as *Patria y Libertad*, which trains children in the use of arms and forms secret paramilitary organizations in middle-class areas, are never mentioned. Indeed, those groups are hardly even reported to exist. It is customary, in addition, for disruptions to be reported in a way that fails to identify the ideological persuasion of the protesters if they are presumed right wing, but notes precisely the

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ideological convictions of disrupters presumed left wing.

Consider the report of an assassination, clearly by rightist forces, of the army chief of staff in an effort to block Allende's ratification by the Chilean congress (approved by the General), and a subsequent retaliatory assassination, assumed to have been perpetrated by the Left. *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis wrote recently that: "Extremists have already produced two major crises since Allende was elected—the assassination of General Schneider, and, nine months later, the assassination by *left-wing* [emphasis added] terrorists of Edmundo Perez Zukovic, who had been Minister of the Interior under [former President] Frei" (*New York Times Magazine*, December 17, 1972). Right-wing assassins are simply assassins; those from the Left are *left-wing* terrorists.

Suppressing information on right-wing activity extends to a blackout on news about disruptive or distasteful activities by Allende's opponents. The most glaring example of such omissions is found in coverage of street demonstrations by about 5,000 women who, in early December 1971, protested food rationing in Santiago. The "March of the Empty Pots," so called because the participants banged empty saucepans as they marched, was reported by several papers. Only one, however, ventured any clear estimate of the general social or economic origin of the women, information any reader would consider essential to assess the political implications of the march. (*The Christian Science Monitor*'s James Nelson Goodsell noted, on December 8, 1971, that the sound of marching pots was loudest in the wealthier sections of Santiago.)

In contrast to the North American papers, highly respected foreign sources did, as a matter of course, identify the socioeconomic origins of the women. *Le Monde*, the British weekly *Latin America*, and *Excelsior*, the Mexican equivalent of *The New York Times*, all reported that the marching women were upper-middle and upper class. In addition, the U.S. press reported that the women's march was led by groups of men wearing safety helmets and carrying sticks, and though clearly peaceful, was broken up by "brigades" of "Leftist youths" wearing "hard hats" and carrying "stones and clubs," and by an overreacting Allende who asked police to disperse the women. The foreign press, on the other hand, reported that the women were led by goon squads of club-wielding men, called the march a "right-wing riot," and reported it broken up by police after the President in his car and his palace had been stoned by the women (*Le Monde*, *Excelsior*, December 2-6, 1971; *Latin America*, December 10, 1971).

A fourth omission, perhaps more flagrant than the others, is the virtual absence of evidence suggesting that Allende has made any social or economic progress whatsoever. News reports and editorials have abounded with dark hints that the Chilean economy and Chilean politics are on the brink of upheaval, and Cassandra-like accounts bewail reports of food shortages, unemployment, inflation and the scarcity of foreign exchange, as though economic ruin were just around the corner. The jeremiads have been so constant that Joseph Kraft of *The Washington Post* (December 10, 1970) devoted the last part of one article on Chile to a critique of the doomsayers in the U.S. Government, and on April 8, 1971, *Le Monde* criticized the alarmist tone of the U.S. press in covering events in Chile.

What go unreported in the United States are social and economic statistics available to any reporter who cares to examine them in "Analysis of the Economy in 1971," published by Chile's Planning Office (ODEPLAN/IDS Roundtable, April 23, 1972), Document 4. There is some evidence that Chile's first year under Allende, 1971, far from inducing despair, gave reason for hope. Agricultural production doubled, the consumer price index rose at only one-half of the rate registered during the last year of President Frei's administration, and the construction industry grew by 9 per cent. Unemployment, again contrary to U.S. press reports, declined from 8.3 per cent in December of 1970, shortly after Allende's inauguration, to 4.7 per cent in September of 1971. Food shortages exist, but they are a product not of a

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government food austerity policy but of the increased purchasing power of Chile's working classes. Food production has actually increased in Chile (e.g., beef consumption was up 15 per cent, fowls 16 per cent during Allende's first year), but the working classes and the poor are buying more.

Allende raised wages and froze prices and profits, insuring that the salary and wage segment of national income increased from 51 per cent in 1970 to 59 per cent in 1971. Finally, during Allende's first year, Chile's increase of gross national product was the second highest in Latin America, 8.5 per cent. Our reporters have failed to record such indicators of progress, and have fairly consistently labeled Chile's future as dismal and "clouded."

A fifth major omission in coverage of Chilean politics is perhaps the most obvious of all. It is difficult to talk about the state of Delaware without mentioning the Du-Ponts, and it would be bizzare to talk about Montana without speculating on the role there of Anaconda Copper. Yet our reporters somehow manage to write about Chile without examining the political influence of Anaconda, Kennecott Copper and ITT. A recent example indicates the lengths to which reporters can go to avoid discussing the political impact of our multinational corporations.

The General Schneider assassination was given renewed public attention in the spring of 1972, when it was widely reported that ITT had been implicated in plans for the murder. As usual, the threat from the Right (and from U.S. corporations) was minimized. Evident in the U.S. press, especially in reports by Juan de Onis of *The New York Times*, and in a *Times* editorial, were efforts to divert public attention from recent evidence suggesting that ITT and the CIA had plotted to prevent Allende from taking office. Reporting in the *Times* focused not on the plausibility or veracity of the "Chile Papers" released by Jack Anderson, or on the appropriateness of corporate intervention in Chilean politics but rather on whether the conspiracy documents had helped boost support for Allende, and on the way Chile's Popular Unity coalition "irrationally" employed the documents to draw attention to a right-wing threat (cf. *New York Times*, March 24, March 26 editorial, and April 2, 1972).

The omission of information on the opinions of less affluent Chileans, the absence of reports on right-wing activity or on disruptive activity by Allende's opponents, the failure to report economic and social progress where it has occurred, and the paucity of investigations of multinational corporate activity give a distorted portrait of the Chilean political system. What information is reported has been frequently laced with cold-war rhetoric and Stalinist stereotypes, as well as with pernicious characterizations of Allende that border on the ridiculous: "acrobat," "adroit juggler," "cunning . . . light-tripping fox" (Sulzberger, *The New York Times*, July 2, 1971); "former county coroner" (*Miami Herald*, December 16, 1970), and "plump little doctor" (*Newsweek*, January 31, 1972). Such reporting betrays an arrogance seldom displayed in press reports on heads of state from other countries, and absent in coverage of the military dictatorships in Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, etc.

Perhaps the worst example of "reporting by ridicule" is found in an article by Bernard Collier in "The Word in Chile is Tomar (to take)" in *The New York Times Magazine* (May 7, 1972). Sample excerpts are: "The Chileans do not believe in facts, numbers, or statistics with the earnest faith of English-speaking people. . . . Most of [the Socialist] candidates were men whose faces were so greedy and dishonest hardly anybody thought they could win a popular election. . . . The political problem for President Allende now is to control the kind of immature people his party has always attracted."

The pattern of omissions and patronizing language described here is so consistent and widespread that it cannot be attributed to the particular bias of individual editors and reporters, though it may stem in part from widely shared American cultural assumptions and attitudes about governments which call themselves "Socialist." It is perhaps futile, therefore, to suggest that individual correspondents can, by varying their reports, modify the perceptions of values of American political culture. It would promote better understanding of Chilean politics if they would more often do the following:

(*1*) *Place events in historical context.* Chile's problems did not arise, phoenix-like, out of the ashes of the Frei administration. Reporting which traced the history of inflation, unemployment, land reform and attempts at copper nationalization before Allende came into power would increase appreciation of his policies and the support they enjoy in many sectors. The reports of Lewis H. Diuguid of *The Washington Post* are excellent in this respect (September 4, 6, 7, 19, 1970; April 5; August 7, 1971). Indeed, his "background" dispatches are unusually reliable among American reports on Chilean affairs, an achievement for which he probably deserves to receive the newly created press prize of the Latin American Studies Association.

(*2*) *Place events in comparative context.* Chile does not necessarily suffer the highest rate of inflation in Latin America, nor the highest attrition ("brain drain") of trained personnel. Reports on Chile's problems that omit information on similar problems elsewhere in Latin America create the appearance of an unusual instability and potential for repression which are highly misleading. In Latin America, Chile enjoys the reputation of having one of the continent's most flexible, peaceful political systems. It is also one of the few Latin American countries where the term "democracy" still describes important elements of the political system.

(*3*) *Consider all relevant publics.* Accurate reporting should mention the viewpoints of those who support Allende as well as the positions of those who oppose him. The absence of interviews with that two-thirds of the Chilean population which at least one press report calls "impoverished"; the refusal to evaluate Allende in terms of his own politically relevant public, the workers and under classes; and the persistent tendency to treat middle- and upper-class opinion as though it were representative of all Chilean opinion misrepresents the urban and rural poor, both of which seem neglected by our news media.

(*4*) *Willingly ask serious questions about the extent and legitimacy of influence exercised in Chile by U.S.*

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Government agencies and transnational corporations. On October 1, 1971, *The New York Times* carried an article by Murray Rossant, president of the Twentieth Century Fund, titled "The Big Stick Is Now Economic," which outlined a policy aimed at the economic strangulation of Chile. Rossant wrote that this policy:

> . . . would consist of encouraging Congressional sanctions, withholding all aid and assistance to Chile and exerting maximum leverage on international lending agencies, including the Inter-American Development and World Banks, to follow suit. [In addition] if further private and governmental credit is cut off by a combination of American sanctions and pressure on international sources, commercial banks and corporations, *not to mention manipulation of world copper prices* [emphasis added], the Allende government would be paralyzed.

Why did this notice of clear intent to suffocate Chile financially fail to come to the attention of reporters covering Allende's speech? Why were replies from Ambassador Bush and ITT and Kennecott simply printed with no pertinent questions asked about the veracity of Allende's charge?

Chile's quarrels with ITT, Kennecott, and Anaconda are well known. How many know, however, that Chile has quietly and effectively settled its differences with a number of other U.S. corporations? What have been the actual profits reaped by U.S. corporations in Chile? How much transfer pricing and underpricing of machinery imports occurs? What interlocking directorates exist in both the national and foreign corporations of Chile? How does U.S. corporate influence over distribution and price manipulation affect Chile's copper revenues? How does foreign control of myriad patents affect Chile's ability to manage its own industries and resources? Such questions occur immediately to the serious student of Chilean politics. They should also occur instantly to American correspondents in Chile.

The same perspective that allows *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Everett Martin to write an essay on popular outrage against Anaconda's strip-mining practices in Montana should allow reporters to assess popular reaction to Anaconda in Chile. Reporters might do well, as a point of departure, to emulate the veteran Latin American correspondent for *The New York Times,* Tad Szulc, who in at least two articles opened up some of the considerations affecting U.S. influence in Chile. For those who argue that Chile's growing economic troubles are the result as much of domestic mismanagement as of American pressure, Szulc notes that credit worthiness was not a consideration when Washington lent money to countries, such as Brazil in 1964, right after a military *coup d'état (New York Times,* December 10, 1972). Szulc also points out that, although the United States has terminated its aid for Chilean economic projects and food imports, it has continued its military aid to Chile under a $10 million credit agreement, sending in fact twice as much military aid this year as it did last. To many, this policy contradicts Nixon's statement of January 1971, that no direct assistance would be given countries that failed to pay prompt and adequate compensation for nationalized U.S. property (*The New York Times,* December 9, 1972).

These contradictions deserve study by U.S. newspapers. Their willingness to pose essential questions about central issues will be tested this coming March, when Chile holds congressional elections, the most important political event there since the election of President Allende two and a half years ago. □

REVENUE SHARING

THE NEXT DOMESTIC DISASTER

AMITAI ETZIONI & MARINA OTTAWAY
Mr. Etzioni is professor of sociology at Columbia University and director of the Center for Policy Research. Ms. Ottaway is a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University, writing a dissertation on the political consequences of revenue sharing.

The "game plan" of the second Nixon Administration for the domestic front calls for trimming some programs, slashing others and eliminating the rest. From OEO to HUD, from welfare to federal aid to education, the axes are being sharpened. When the spokesmen of a local government or state ask how they are to manage, they are told to draw on their allotment of revenue-sharing funds. Revenue sharing, which came into effect at the end of 1972—first checks have just been mailed to about 35,000 state and local governments—is to be *the* Nixonian treatment of domestic affairs. It is a poor idea whose time has come.

Since the concept underwent several transformations as the final bill was being shaped, most observers are hard put to remember what precisely the Congress has enacted. We therefore briefly review the bill, before outlining why we anticipate such unfavorable consequences and suggesting how these might be ameliorated.

The bill will give to state governments a rising amount, from $1.95 billion in 1972 to $2.85 billion by 1976, of federal revenues, to spend as they please; it will allot another $3.5 billion to local units for "high-priority expenditures," specifically public safety, environmental protection and transportation. The bill is retroactive to January 1, 1972 and runs for five years, with the unusual feature that funds will be appropriated automatically for all the subsequent years, without annual review. In addition to this bill, which provides for what is called "general revenue-sharing," the President is seeking an additional $11 billion a year for "special revenue-sharing." This annual sum would be obtained by taking funds now available through "categorical grants in aid"

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(for specific purposes ranging from community mental health to vocational education) and turning them into fairly unrestricted funds to be spent in any of a list of approved areas (known as "block grants"). Congress has not yet acted on this second bill.

The general revenue-sharing bill, as it took shape in Representative Mills's committee, gives less to the states and more to local governments than does the draft bill the Administration submitted. Mills's version also restricts expenditures by local governments considerably more than did the Nixon draft. Still, the Administration is pleased with the outcome.

The history of the bill, told backward, is that it was made a cornerstone of Nixon's domestic legislative efforts in his 1971 message to the Union. It was hailed as a measure that would bring decision making closer to the citizens, reduce centralization of government and increase the autonomy of states, counties and cities. It has been variously labeled a "visionary course for the nation," and a grand "new federalism," a measure to correct the "physical mismatch" between the states and the Union.

It had been first advanced by the Administration in August 1969. For a bill that was supposed to provide free funds to many people, it generated surprisingly little enthusiasm. Objections came from all sides: many Congressmen were reluctant to give up part of the powers of the purse to other levels of government; conservatives worried that state and local officials would squander the money, since they were not responsible for raising it; liberals warned that the states would get too much money and the cities too little. Conservatives hesitated to add $5 billion to the federal deficit and argued that state and local governments should increase their tax efforts instead; liberals feared that, while revenue sharing might rechannel funds (from categorical to block grants), it would add little to total funding for domestic programs.

The bill tries to respond to all these concerns. It is equipped with a complicated computing scheme designed to allot funds according to size of population and income per capita; and for the states, in relation to their own tax revenues. The purposes for which funds may be used have been restricted. New funds have been added to one bill, while the other ($11 billion in special revenue sharing) aims at rechanneling old funds.

The idea of revenue sharing cannot be traced to its sources, but some federal funds have been available to other levels of government, with slight, if any, strings attached, at least since the beginning of the century. And over the years academics have outlined literally scores of schemes for transferring federal revenue to local governments, many of which could be called revenue sharing. However, Walter Heller, economic adviser to President Johnson, and Joseph Pechman of the Brookings Institution were among the first advocates of this bill. Heller prepared a revenue-sharing proposal for the Johnson administration, and Pechman conducted a major study of its feasibility.

Like many programs which the Administration is still selling to the Congress, the press and the public, revenue sharing has been heralded as a great jump forward. President Nixon called it a "New American Revolution" and a means of "returning power to the people."

On the face of it, the idea makes good sense. Under the double pressure of rising demands for services and rising costs for supplying them, state and local expenditures have risen from $94 billion in 1966 to a staggering $130 billion in 1970, with no end in sight. State and local taxes have risen steadily for the past twenty-five years, and yet a number of states and almost all large cities face serious budget difficulties. The domestic missions, especially education, welfare and crime control, weigh heavily on state-local budgets, while the federal government, whose prime missions have been defense and space, collects twice as much in taxes as state and local governments combined.

Moreover, the national government has virtually preempted the most productive source of revenue—personal income tax, 91 per cent of which is collected by the Internal Revenue Service. Now that greater attention to domestic missions is a clear need and seems to be a rising national commitment, the imbalance between federal concentration of funds and local control of domestic missions must be corrected. Federalization of domestic missions would be one way to accomplish it, but the ideological opposition to still bigger central government is too great for that to be an attractive step, especially under a Republican Administration.

The total money promised by the present bill is still rather small. By one computation, New York City would receive $158 million and Newark $6 million—amounts that would hardly release the cities from their financial sorrows or significantly reduce inner-city crises. Still, revenue sharing starts with about two and a half times more than the war on poverty netted in its better days. And there can be little doubt that, once the bill is enacted and federal funds start flowing (with no serious strings attached), the pressure will be on to increase the flow. Social Security, an apt enough analogy, has been boosted eight times to date. Thus, revenue sharing could quickly become a major way to disburse federal funds for domestic needs, especially if categorical grants-in-aid are reduced, as Nixon has requested, or even if only all new funds for domestic programs were channeled through revenue sharing. If the increase in federal aid continues at the present pace, the amount of new funds could be considerable: categorical grants to states and localities increased from $10 billion in 1965 to $23 billion in 1970.

Unfortunately it is possible to foretell with even greater clarity than was possible when other grand schemes were launched—Maximum Feasible Participation of the Poor, Model Cities and Title I, to name but three—that the main effects of revenue sharing will range from the undesirable to the disastrous, and that they will often be the opposite of what is intended.

One of the main reasons given for transferring funds away from the federal government is that its agencies are said to be hyper-bureaucratic, manipulated by lobbies, subject to political pressures, and unresponsive to local needs. Funds are therefore being shifted to the

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state and local levels, *but* these governments are, with few exceptions, seriously more deficient on *all* the above counts than are the federal bureaucracies. Since that is a major reason for expecting that we shall live to regret revenue sharing, this unflattering observation must be elaborated.

The states are not all in the same condition: California and Hawaii are widely held to be better administered than most, and Wisconsin has had good days. But by and large, most state administrations, and those of many of the cities and innumerable counties, are notorious on many accounts.

Outright corruption, rare in federal agencies, is rampant in many city halls and state capitols. It is unheard of for the head of a federal agency to be indicted for pocketing a million to place a dam or reactor in one site rather than another, but mayors or heads of city agencies are convicted for that sort of thing with appalling regularity. It is unthinkable to bribe an FBI agent, but local buildings inspectors, policemen, even judges, are bribed every day of the week. Among recent headlines: from New York City, the Knapp panel finds "widespread" corruption in the police; from Newark, former Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio is found guilty of extortion and conspiracy; from Illinois, supreme court Justice Klingbeil is forced to resign for accepting 100 shares of stock from a bank official whose case was before his court; from Woodbridge, N. J., the Mayor and the president of the City Council are charged with accepting bribes from officers of the Colonial Pipeline Corporation; from Johnstown, Pa., three officials are bribed by a CATV corporation; and so it goes. Washington bureaucracies do not normally produce that kind of headline, except when federal funds flow into local hands, as in some of the anti-poverty and welfare schemes.

Recently, a House subcommittee on legal and monetary affairs studied the results of giving the states $1.5 billion to upgrade law enforcement. The subcommittee report points out that the states' programs are "riddled with inefficiency, waste, maladministration, and in some cases, corruption." It concluded that the program had "had no visible impact on the incidence of crime." Among the patterns established was "diversion of funds for political purposes"; exorbitant consultant fees; purchases without proper bidding, and diversion of funds to other purposes than were indicated by the program.

One of the main reasons that automobile manufacturers are so anxious that safety standards be locally rather than federally enforced, is that they can so much more readily get their way with local legislatures and enforcement agencies. The same holds for polluters. Since 1965 the federal government has called to account about 4,000 industries and cities for contributing to heavy pollution and found that almost all of them had state permits for their levels of discharge. The best that even pro-revenue-sharing witnesses could say about state administrations during the hearings is that things are no longer as bad as they used to be, or that they expected them to improve, once more funds were available.

Government inefficiency is as hard to measure as it is easy to stumble upon. However, every indication suggests that the red tape is longer and more snarled in many states and cities than it is in Washington. Thus, in New York City, according to former Health Commissioner Joseph U. Terezio, it took nine months and eighteen clerical steps to hire one X-ray technician (before the city hospitals were cut loose of the city's bureaucracy and set up as a semi-public corporation). The average time for completion of purchase requisitions was eighty-eight days.

The cost of collecting state taxes is much higher than that for federal taxes, and local governments are the most inefficient of all in this respect, despite the advantage of propinquity. And for all the comments about the cumbersome Washington bureaucracy, it turns out that state governments, with less than one-third the budget, have four-fifths as many employees.

A study of state legislatures, funded by the Ford Foundation and conducted by a nonpartisan, nonprofit citizens' conference, found many legislatures to be inept, understaffed, poorly paid and in "disarray." Alabama ranked worst, primarily because it was so dominated by the Governor. Wyoming ranked forty-ninth; its legislature meets only forty days, including weekends, *every other year,* and is not empowered to extend its session if business is incomplete. New Hampshire's lawmakers are paid $200 a year, which suggests either that they are affluent or are not expected to do much work. Almost all state legislatures were found to be more dominated by their governors than Congress was ever alleged to be by the President.

In any event, many experts agree that the goal of more rational local government lies in combining existing units into larger entities (such as metropolitan and regional governments), or dividing them into smaller ones (decentralization of city halls), or a combination of larger and smaller (as London combines many local parts into a metropolitan area). One of the best ways to encourage local units to come together—a move often essential for rational transportation systems, pollution control, or effective police service—is to have the federal government pay for part of the new interlocal systems. Revenue sharing ignores all this. Instead, aid will be given to all units of government, irrespective of their size or reason for existence. Not only does this across-the-board distribution encourage parochialism, it also assures that money will be wasted through grants too small for any practical purpose. Mindful of the waste resulting from very small grants, the bill stipulates that a unit of government entitled to less than $200 a year will not receive the grant. That is hardly a guarantee of efficiency.

Modern government requires *technological and research backup.* While the decentralization of research that will accompany the decentralization of funds may not lead each town to reinvent the wheel, duplications —which cannot now be avoided among federal agencies —will inevitably multiply if scores of states and cities begin to investigate the same problems. And, as the national pool of talents available for urban R&D is very small, it cannot be divided up and still leave a sufficient "mass" for any given place. Under revenue sharing, the odds are that local researchers, often ill-trained, will be

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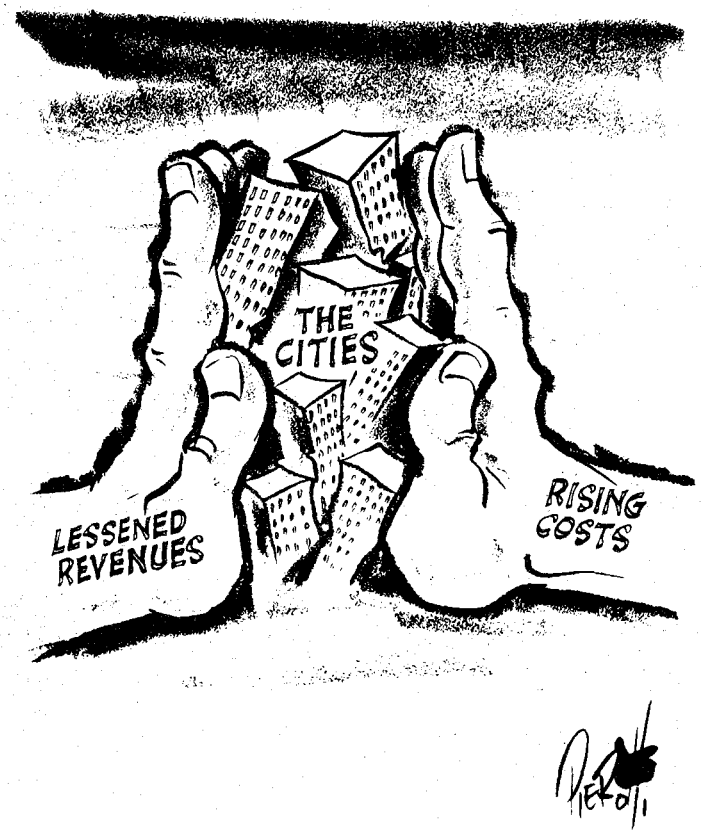
favored, rather than that the findings of a few national centers will be shared by all.

Fears that some state and local governments will distribute revenue-sharing funds less equitably than is the federal practice, especially with respect to race and sex, are hardly allayed by a clause requiring that fund distribution not violate the *constitutional rights* of any citizens. The provisions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act have proved very difficult to enforce, even in the days when federal grants had strings attached. Lacking supervision, local tendencies will be freer to exert themselves.

What happens to national guidelines is illustrated in a recent report about the attempt to set up birth-control services for welfare clients, as required by 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act and 1968 HEW guidelines. The guidelines state that all "appropriate" welfare recipients should receive family-planning services that "specifically include medical contraceptive services, social services and educational services." Yet a 1971 study showed that only twelve states complied, and three of these spent only $100,000 each on their programs. Surely not more but less adherence to national guidelines must



be expected, now that the funds are, in principle, unconditional, and the whole philosophy of revenue sharing is for greater local initiative.

Last but not least, a major shift of funds cannot occur between levels of government (or from the government to the private sector) without affecting the *distribution of funds among economic classes, races, regions of the country, or determining which domestic missions will take priority over others.* First, the shift introduced by revenue sharing in the particular version that is being enacted is away from Great Society domestic programs—which focused on the poor, the minorities and the inner cities—and toward a broader distribution which includes all states and all localities. While some extra dollars will go to areas with lower income per capita, many of these are in the rural South rather than the inner cities. In the cities, income may not be the lowest, but the accumulation of deficiencies is the heaviest, if only because so many poor Southerners have moved there.

Second, revenue sharing favors environmental protection, police and fire protection and transportation. These, of course, are matters that concern the poor, the minorities and inner cities' residents, but when the funds are spread nationwide—a sewer for every town, poor or rich; a helping hand to every state's transportation system—the deprived will get much less, and less for missions especially designed to assist them. The champions of revenue sharing say it will bring government closer to the people, make it more responsive. But it might well bring it closer to the control of the local establishments, which often are less responsive to "the people," *all* the people, than is Washington.

In short, revenue sharing is quite clearly a shift of funds, not complete but considerable, from social reform, social justice and redistribution, toward society-wide functions; from humanistic missions (welfare, housing, education) to environmental protection, public safety and hardware; from inefficient administrators to largely deficient, often corrupt, systems.

In that case, what is to be done? First, the second ("specific") revenue-sharing bill, which would largely increase the funds available to this "program" and reduce those available to others, should not be enacted; at least, it should be held up in Congress until the experience with the first revenue-sharing bill is digested. This delay should not be too difficult; Congress is quite good at dragging its heels.

Second, as far as the enacted bill goes, Congress should maintain its traditional legislative right of *annual* reviews, or at least introduce an evaluation and potential termination point after three rather than five years. Three years from now the revenue-sharing scandals will be big enough and common enough to cry for a critical reappraisal. At the same time, everything possible should be done to secure a full review at the end of five years. Money should be appropriated *now* to pay for a Congressional commission to study the effects of the bill. While many lawmakers might be happy enough with the move away from inner cities, few could be pleased with the abuse and waste of the funds that would follow. Only systematic evaluation of the new program and a careful search for alternatives could counteract the growing pressures of local governments for ever more federal funds with ever fewer strings. If it seems naive to expect mere data and research to stop a broadly based political coalition, we must point out that that is one reason why revenue sharing fills us with dismay: once it is on the books, it will be difficult to undo and all too easy to expand.

It may prove easier to reverse revenue sharing if alternative ways to fund domestic missions are tried over the next years. Federalization of the finances of welfare and/or education is one important possibility. It would immediately relieve the pressure on the most beset local governments,

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and funds disbursed federally could by-pass layers of bureaucracy (e.g., for welfare—the way Social Security checks are now mailed).

Those concerned with social reform and social justice must seek to retain the grants-in-aid aimed at those parts of the country and those missions they hold most in need; and they must insist that, if revenue sharing is to be enacted, its funds will be added to and not replace grants-in-aid. While the administration of categorical grants-in-aid has created problems, these programs have played, and still play, an important part in channeling funds to tasks which state and local governments have not been eager to undertake themselves.

Reform in the administration of federal grant programs is needed. Revenue sharing could perhaps become such an instrument of change if it were accompanied by a great effort to help local and state governments mend their ways. The formation of additional federal task forces to combat crime and corruption, such as those employed recently in Newark and New York and earlier in Chicago, could help local governments to assume more missions with a greater measure of effectiveness and integrity. But checking corruption, although vital, is not enough.

Past experience in the administration of local governmental programs has shown that efficiency of administration and inter-unit cooperation can be increased when state and local agencies are staffed by more highly motivated civil servants and administrators—by persons more interested in the task at hand than in protecting local privileges. Devoting a fixed proportion of revenue-sharing funds to training programs for state and local civil servants might help to professionalize them and might broaden the focus of local efforts and encourage cooperation. When upgrading the civil services it may be desirable to draw a larger number of college-educated and young people into these local positions. To inject fresh blood and a greater degree of idealism, to enlist greater interest from college students, a fixed proportion, say 1 per cent, of all revenue-sharing funds should be set aside by the federal government to support civil service internships for students who consider this career. The government might pay their college expenses if they were willing to major in a relevant subject area (e.g., public administration) and to work for several years after graduation in a state, county, or city civil service. To insure that the young wave would not disappear or be absorbed by the old-timers, periodic seminars should be conducted for the new professionals.

"Sabbaticals" for persons now in civil service, during which they would be trained or retrained, should also be made available on a large scale. Selected colleges could be mobilized to develop and guide a civil servant career development program for nonfederal employees. A number of such programs already exist, but if nonfederal services are to be improved, training and retraining efforts will have to be extended and intensified. Possibly, under revenue sharing, an interstate body to develop curriculum and teaching procedures could be set up.

What this means is that revenue sharing should not become an excuse for the federal government to shirk political—as distinct from financial—responsibility for domestic missions. Maintaining categorical grants is one way to influence domestic policies. Revenue sharing, if accompanied by efforts at reform such as those outlined above, is another. It would be a roundabout way to influence policies, and more effective in the long run than in the near future, but it would still be a better course than ignoring the very serious deficiencies of many state and local administrations. Unfortunately, Congress has already rejected two bills (the Muskie and Reuss-Humphrey bills) which sought to link revenue sharing to the modernization of local governments. Indeed, there are few reasons to hope that the multiple diversions of revenue-sharing funds can be avoided, but there is little more that we can suggest to improve a program that should never have been launched. □

PUBLIC RELATIONS, COAST-TO-COAST

The Airlines Take Us for a Ride

JOHN TWOHEY and JAMES ROSAPEPE
Mr. Twohey and Mr. Rosapepe, both former Congressional aides, are now working as free-lance writers in Washington. In February, they are beginning a regular column (to be distributed by Universal Press Syndicate) on the concentration of power in America's large institutions.

A close look at a nationwide advertising and lobbying campaign now in progress may help explain why air fares keep going up while the quality of airline service keeps going down. Since 1970, domestic air fares in the United States have increased 18.5 per cent. The cost to the public has been an extra $1 billion in each of the past two years. A request for a 7 per cent increase in international fares is now pending; if approved, it will take another $100 million per year from air travelers, beginning April 1.

Meanwhile, the number of domestic flights continues to fall. In 1971 coast-to-coast flights were cut by 30 per cent, and the number of planes flying some of the shorter routes was cut in half. Meanwhile, delays in arrivals and departures at the nation's major airports are as troublesome as ever.

Why consumers pay more and more for less and less begins to come into focus when one examines the means the airline industry is using to get its way in Washington. It becomes perfectly clear when you compare the industry's resources and tactics with those available to consumers.

Airlines enjoy a government-sanctioned monopoly,

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regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Board, which is empowered by Congress to assign routes, control fares and subsidize certain losses. In short, its job is to insure that consumers receive good service at a fair price. However, the history of CAB regulation is dismal. Fare increases are routinely approved. This invariably leads to a drop in the number of passengers (averaging 10 per cent less after each fare hike), which leads to temporary operating losses, which lead to new requests for higher fares. The CAB then grants the price increase and the cycle begins anew. In recent years, the industry has applied for and been granted a variety of Barnum and Bailey discount and promotional fares, but it seems curiously uninterested in reducing standard fares—a step that could very well stimulate traffic and raise revenues.

Still another indication of questionable planning inside the industry is the head-over-heels rush toward bigger aircraft, with more and more seats. In 1972, for example, the airlines operated their planes at only 45 per cent of capacity, with more than half the seats empty in the course of the year.

To cloud facts like these and to create a public climate favorable to the air carriers (and, ultimately, higher fares), the industry has undertaken a massive advertising and lobbying campaign. The purpose is to convince consumers, members of Congress and the CAB that the airlines are doing their best in difficult times. The specific message: we need higher fares.

The campaign is being directed from Washington by the Air Transport Association, the domestic trade group for the country's twenty-six major commercial air carriers. With an annual budget of more than $6 million, ATA is one of Washington's best financed and most influential lobbies. It employs a staff of 210, including six full-time registered Congressional lobbyists. Outgrowing its old offices on Connecticut Avenue, the organization recently moved to new quarters on New York Avenue, one block from the White House. It now occupies all of three floors in the handsome building.

As spokesman for a $10 billion industry, ATA has always attracted to its ranks skilled professionals, people who know Washington and how to get things done in Congress and at the government's regulatory agencies. Paul Ignatius, recently made president of ATA, was formerly president of *The Washington Post* and, before that, Secretary of the Navy.

The industry's current campaign, begun in March 1971, will cost the airlines more than $1.5 million, of which newspaper and magazine ads will account for one-third. The rest is going into such lobbying weapons as pamphlets, brochures and direct mailings to government officials, U.S. Representatives, Senators and Congressional aides. The outline for this propaganda effort was laid out in late 1970 in a report prepared for the ATA by the New York public relations and advertising firm of Hill & Knowlton. The document provides an unusual insight into the methods big business employs to get its way in Washington.

Entitled "Proposal for an Economic Education Program," the report told the airlines: "We believe the intention of the industry should be to build a pyramid of support reaching upward from a large base throughout the country to a pinnacle at Washington." Hill & Knowlton therefore proposed, first, a media campaign to soften up the general public and, then, use of other methods to win over narrower audiences, like members of Congress. The initial targets sighted by the PR firm were "groups whose ideas and opinions often spawn public opinion . . . the media . . . academic publications, and popular journals of opinion, and the college milieu . . . elite faculties of economics and their graduate students."

Included in the strategy suggested to convert intellectuals was this advice: "The [airline] companies themselves should give careful thought to means of bringing individuals from these [college faculties] into close association, perhaps through summer employment fellowships, or making contributions to college-meeting expense funds—which are often insufficient to permit as much travel as academicians would like—or by retaining selected individuals as consultants." Professors are to be hired so that the airlines can teach professors.

Winning over the university communities, however, is not the industry's top priority. "At the top of the pyramid is, of course, official Washington, including members of the Senate and House and their aides, staff personnel of key committees, members and staff of the CAB, appropriate officials and staff of the Department of Transportation and Department of Labor [and] key White House staff personnel. . . ." While professors may be influential, these other people have power.

To reach the Washington crowd, Hill & Knowlton proposed a set of brochures and a quarterly newsletter, all to be synchronized with personal lobbying throughout the Capitol. The Hill & Knowlton argument was persuasive. The industry bought it.

A series of magazine ads intended to influence so-called "opinion leaders" is already appearing. In publications like the *Harvard Business Review*, *The New Republic*, *National Review*, *Editor & Publisher*, *Harper's* and *The Atlantic*, the ads tell the story of an industry striving to serve America, but in need of higher fares to do it. Says Daniel B. Priest, vice president for public relations at ATA:

> Actually, the campaign grew out of a poll conducted for us by Lou Harris back in 1970. The results showed the public at large, and opinion leaders in particular, didn't know much about us. There was widespread ignorance about the economics of our business.
>
> We saw that when it came time to take certain steps, like going to the CAB for a fare increase, that this would be a problem. We want people to say, "Yes, I understand their needs." Take editorial writers, for instance. If they don't know our story, we might have trouble achieving some of our goals.

So it was that ATA turned to Hill & Knowlton to help tell its "story" to editorial writers and other "opinion leaders." Each of the ads they've prepared—four in all—features a single black-and-white photo over a headline and block of copy. The tag line on each is: "The Airlines of America. The shortest distance between people."

In various ways the ads all argue for higher fares. They concentrate on the great strides the industry is mak-

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ing in serving the public: more computers, more comfortable jets, greater capacity and cleaner jet engines. They conclude with an invitation to readers to write in for an illustrated booklet, "Economics of Air Transport: An Overview."

While all four ads tend to exaggerate the airlines' record of public service, one ad is far and away the most deceitful. It depicts an airline inspector, carrying a clipboard, who stands inside a giant jet engine. He is evidently checking the machinery for something or other. The headline beneath the photo reads: "Our newest no-smoking section."

The ad then continues: "That's right. The engine. On our newest planes, the wide-bodied jets, the engines don't smoke at all. And the older jets are smoking less. Why? Because we've invested millions of dollars to reduce air pollutants from our engines. Though emissions from scheduled airliners are only 1.2 per cent of the nation's total, it's still too much for us—and you."

What is really "too much," however, is the readiness of the ATA to distort the facts of this matter. The truth is that, while the industry has indeed removed the smoke from most of its jet exhaust, it has simultaneously increased the emission of a far more poisonous substance: nitrogen oxides. In their tinkering to get rid of the smoke, the industry engineers have succeeded in producing an exhaust trail worse than the old one.

Smoke, although the most visible of jet pollutants, is by far the least harmful. Other, invisible toxic gases, can do much more injury to public health. The thinking seems to be: out of sight, out of mind. And, of course, the ad fails to mention that the airlines applied even this token dose of cosmetics only after public pressure had become a serious national clamor.

Finally, while it is true that jet engine pollution accounts for only 1.2 per cent of the national total, it is as much as 75 and 80 per cent of the pollution in the neighborhoods around large airports like JFK, O'Hare and Los Angeles International.

The information served up in the second part of the industry's campaign is equally self-serving and misleading. One piece, a slick, 13-page, chart-filled item, argues that the airlines are a highly efficient, well-managed, lean, dedicated team of public servants. Another, called "Rising Employment Costs in Air Transport," urges that the government put curbs on the unions of airline workers.

The airlines obviously believe that the investment of $1.5 million in this kind of campaign will pay off. As the Hill & Knowlton proposal candidly concludes: "This approach . . . offers the industry an opportunity to create a climate in which its Washington aims can be more readily achieved in the years immediately ahead and in the long term future."

Sadly enough for consumers, they are probably right. □

'QUITE LEGAL, QUITE ETHICAL'

ESPIONAGE AT KENT STATE

TED JOY
Mr. Joy, a free-lance writer, lives in Kent, Ohio, and is completing a book on the Kent State killings.

Three weeks after the May 4, 1970 killings at Kent State University, Ohio state Senator and KSU administrator Robert E. Stockdale told a hand-picked group of Ohio newsmen:

> We need a real, statewide intelligence system that could identify these [radicals]—could grab the necessary legal mechanics and could with the cooperation of national authorities identify, convict and rid ourselves of this type of professional scourge. That type of thing is very essential. We have to be able to identify and rid our campuses pretty quick of the next 100 or 200 . . . with a minimal amount of legal procedures which almost makes it essential that under certain conditions we're going to have to have a red alert which would set aside some of the slow, slovenly, you're innocent until proven guilty tradition.

Two years later, on the evening of April 24, 1972. Kent city police officers, acting on information from two local attorneys, staked out the parking lot of a predominantly student-occupied apartment complex. Two persons came out of one of the buildings. They were Reinhold "Ron" Mohr and Alan Morris. Both were KSU students and both were members of the campus chapter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). On a prearranged signal from Morris the police moved in and arrested Mohr. At that time they had no idea who Mohr was. All the city police knew about him was that he was carrying a Chinese-made AK-47 automatic rifle—the kind used by the North Vietnamese Army—and a Chinese-made, rocket-propelled grenade-launcher (RPG). They knew too that Mohr had been trying to pass the weapons to members of the VVAW, saying, "They're good to kill pigs with."

Mohr was taken to the city police station for booking. Once there, he revealed himself to be an undercover agent for the KSU security force (the campus police). His assignment, he said, had been to infiltrate the VVAW and other radical and anti-war groups. Mohr was held overnight, pending a decision on the legality of his possession of the weapons by agents of the Youngstown office of the Alcohol, Tax and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service. The next morning federal agents found the weapons to be inoperable. After he had signed them over to the federal authorities, Mohr was released.

Both weapons were declared inoperable because there was no ammunition at hand for them. In addition, the

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AK-47 had a hole drilled in its gas chamber changing it from an automatic to a single-shot rifle. The question of the legality or illegality of the weapons was thus carefully side-stepped, and, under subsequent questioning by newsmen, KSU director of security, James Fyke, admitted that the weapons were "not necessarily legal." A few weeks later, while appearing before the Campus Security Advisory Committee (CSAC), composed of faculty and students, Fyke changed his position somewhat. He said, "Under federal policy any police officer working in any undercover status is automatically exempted until such time as he comes back to the surface from any of these illegal gun kinds of violations." Subsequent checks made by CSAC members at three other IRS branch offices in Ohio have disclosed that mere possession of the firing mechanism of either weapon —much less the whole weapon—is illegal.

In the days following Mohr's arrest—which was made possible by a tip to the VVAW from a campus security officer—a series of accusations were made against him. Members of the Joe Hill Collective, a Marxist-oriented descendant of the Students for a Democratic Society, filed a series of affidavits stating that Mohr had tried to induce them to dynamite Rockwell Hall, a 3-story granite and brick building that houses the KSU Army and Air Force ROTC departments and the student records office. Another person claimed that Mohr had set up a plan with the "place, time and dates" to kill three Kent city police officers. This person refused to sign an affidavit because he feared physical retaliation from Mohr.

Other members of the Kent community have admitted buying marijuana, amphetamines and chemical hallucinogens such as LSD from Mohr, both for their own use and for resale. Apparently, though, Mohr's drug trafficking is legal under a recent decision handed down by the U.S. Ninth District Court of Appeals. Ruling in another case, the court held that undercover police officers were permitted to buy, sell and otherwise use illegal drugs in order to maintain and enhance their images.

Mohr's arrest came at a tense time on the campus —the week before the second anniversary of the May 4th murders. Students demanded that action be taken to prevent a recurrence of the use of undercover agents. Fyke denounced the arrest and the resulting uproar as a "false issue" and "a test of my credibility and honesty." It was, he said, "deliberately created as a hoax. These kinds of lies," he said, "are putting us in a 1984-type situation." The whole incident was the result of "the spring offensive of a combination of anarchists and starry-eyed individuals" led by a "well-trained cadre who know their revolutionary manual well."

Speaking to the CSAC, Fyke said:

> What we have done is quite legal, quite ethical. We have not invaded the privacy of any persons. This is the question I have not resolved in three years at Kent State—who are these people who are involved in these political activities that have been harmed in any way by direct or indirect surveillance? Students, I think, are always paranoid about something or other. This is the nature of being a student. Now Mr. Mohr's privacy has been invaded. He has been publicly detained. [They] took away his constitutional and civil liberties by exposing him.

Newly appointed KSU president, Glenn Olds, a former ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council and Nixon campaign adviser, told the *Daily Kent Stater* that "before he came to KSU he would not have believed the level of discontent among the students and faculty over security and would not have believed undercover agents would have had such an impact on the community." As a result of increasing student pressure from the Mohr affair, Olds on May 1 issued a "Recommended Policy Statement on Surveillance." (William McKinley, Olds's executive assistant, has since called the statement—prepared by the CSAC—a "bunch of garbage" and openly admitted that its release was no more than a ruse on Olds's part to defuse a potentially explosive situation.)

Two main points were made in the recommended Policy Statement. First, surveillance—or secret watching as the CSAC called it—would not occur unless there were probable cause to believe that a crime was either being planned or being committed and no other appropriate investigative techniques were available. Furthermore, if surveillance were to become necessary, the director of security would notify the president of the university in writing.

Appearing before the CSAC, Fyke objected to the requirement of written notification; it was unduly cumbersome and impractical. Further, he said: "I am not privileged to discuss these cases with the president because he is the public. It would not be legally or ethically possible for me to do so." According to Fyke, he was responsible not to the university president but to the Portage County prosecutor and the law director of the city of Kent. Continuing, Fyke said, "I feel that there is no police agency—bar none—which takes its oath of office seriously that can operate without covert, secret surveillance activities on occasion. Once somebody says something to another person the thought is no longer private, it is public. Therefore for me to overhear you make the comment or for me to be the third person in a group when you make the comment does not put me in the role of being an eavesdropper or surveiller. If you don't want anybody to know it, don't say it. Don't write it. Don't do anything with it."

The second main point in the proposed Policy Statement was that no students would be employed or used voluntarily by the KSU security force for surveillance, nor would they be paid for information voluntarily given. Full-time police officers who attended school were specifically exempted. Mohr was just such a case. On this point, though, B. Earle Roberts, chairman of the criminal justice studies department at KSU and chairman of the CSAC, told me: "I don't deny that there are undercover agents on campus who are unpaid and who are constantly giving information and intelligence. It's part of the times." Then, warming to the subject, he concluded: "It's in the finest tradition of American law enforcement."

Fyke expanded on this point before the CSAC. "I have probably 100 persons who on a voluntary basis report various activities of what they feel is a criminal nature." There are, he said, "informers in every single group,

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including some of the most covert, supersecret members of the most radical, militant organizations."

One of the most useful groups of informers, Fyke told the CSAC, was the Faculty Senate Observers, a group set up after the 1970 killings to provide unbiased monitoring of demonstrations for the faculty's information and guidance. Recognizing the implications of what Fyke had said, CSAC member and chemistry professor, Allen Rahwitch, burst out: "If that statement with regard to the Faculty Senate Observers gets out of this committee, they're destroyed. Our constituted duty is to be objective observers reporting back exclusively to the Faculty Senate."

While the CSAC-Olds proposed Policy Statement laid down guidelines on the use of undercover agents by the KSU security force, it made no mention whatsoever of their use by other police agencies. Early last November Fyke admitted that he knew that agents from the Portage County sheriff's office, the four-county regional drug control agency, the Ohio State Patrol, the Ohio State narcotics squad, the Ohio Bureau of Criminal Investigation and a federal task force were operating on campus. He said that other agencies, too, may have had agents working on campus at that time but he did not know for sure. He said agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and both Army and Air Force Intelligence had worked the KSU campus from time to time in the past and probably were still around.

On the same day that he promulgated the proposed Policy Statement, Olds announced that photographic surveillance would be restricted to "specific matters related to current criminal cases." Three weeks later, the *Stater* carried a front-page picture of KSU security officer Jerry Frankhouser, dressed in civilian clothes and carrying a camera at the site of an anti-ROTC demonstration. Upon being challenged by *Stater* reporters, Frankhouser showed them a press pass indentifying him as a photographer for the *Cleveland Press*. A bit later the *Stater* reporters saw Frankhouser pass a roll of film to a uniformed KSU security officer. Their suspicion further aroused, they called the *Press* and were told that Frankhouser had done no work for the paper in more than four years.

Frankhouser's use of press credentials was not without precedent at Kent. In June 1969, Margaret Ann Murvay, a KSU student, appeared before the U.S. House Internal Security Committee and told them how, during the previous school year, she had assisted the KSU security force while acting as news director of the campus station, WKSU. After recording interviews with student activists or taping the proceedings of political meetings, she would duplicate her tapes and pass them to KSU security officers.

On May 4, 1970, a man with a camera is said to have run screaming and waving a pistol from the shootings on Blanket Hill. The Scranton Commission and the FBI identified the man as Terry Norman, a free-lance photographer. Yet others have said that Norman bragged repeatedly to friends that he was employed by the FBI. Further, newsmen from the NBC news bureaus in Akron and Cleveland uncovered the fact that Norman had been employed as a KSU security officer. Following the killings at Kent they tracked him to assignments, first with the Washington, D.C., Police Department and, more recently, with the Miami, Fla., Police Department. After more than a year of trying, the NBC newsmen were unable to get a satisfactory report from the FBI as to whether or not Terry Norman's pistol had been fired on May 4, 1970.

Immediately following Mohr's arrest, Olds instructed the CSAC to investigate the incident and its wider implications. The focus of their investigation shifted rapidly from the Mohr case to the intelligence operations of the KSU security force in general. Fyke, himself, neatly drew the connection between the Mohr incident and the security force's general policies. He told the CSAC: "One of the purposes of undercover agents is getting intelligence. I do not deny this at all. It is not rare and it is not exceptional. It's just a continuing kind of thing where once you've started one agent you can put ten more men out to follow up those branches from the first."

Almost immediately the CSAC split into two factions. The anti-Fyke group, consisting almost solely of the student members, was led chiefly by Mike White, a young Methodist minister and graduate student in philosophy at Kent. The pro-Fyke faction was made up mostly of faculty, administrators and nonuniversity people. It was led by Roberts, the CSAC chairman, and Dr. George D. Eastman, director of the KSU Center for State and Local Government.

One of the charges that White leveled most strongly against Eastman and Roberts was that they were too closely tied to Fyke to reach an unbiased assessment of the KSU security force. Both Eastman and Roberts had been Fyke's teachers at Michigan State University police school from 1960 to 1963. (That was the same time that the MSU police school was setting up Diem's secret police operation in South Vietnam.) Later, Fyke and Eastman worked for the Public Administration Service, a consulting firm, in Chicago. While there they served as consultants to the President's Commission on Crime, helping to write the commission's report on police administration.

In 1965 Roberts came to Kent State as coordinator of the law-enforcement studies program. He was followed two years later by Eastman, who took over the forerunner of the present Center for State and Local Government. In 1969 Fyke arrived at Kent State, working first as a researcher in Eastman's operation. After the killings all three served as consultants to the university commission set up to reorganize the campus police department. Finally on January 1, 1971, Fyke became KSU director of security, a position analogous to campus chief of police. In addition, Fyke and Roberts were major contributors to the book *Municipal Police Administration* edited by Eastman in 1969. Published by the International City Managers Association, it is the standard work in its field.

When I asked Fyke about his connections with the other two, he said that he had been Roberts' and Eastman's student at MSU. Roberts at first denied this. Eastman denied having had anything to do with Fyke's being

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employed at KSU. All three denied having been involved in the MSU Vietnam project.

The first major issue of dispute within the CSAC was the keeping of intelligence dossiers by the KSU security force. White pushed for inspection of the files by the CSAC; Eastman and Roberts resisted. On May 5, 1972, Olds granted CSAC permission to inspect the records. The next day Fyke moved to block the inspection, claiming that it would be "unethical and illegal." Finally,

at the end of May, a CSAC subcommittee was allowed to look at the index to the intelligence files, but not at the actual files.

The subcommittee found 3,000 names in the index—only fifteen of which concerned active criminal cases. Almost all files were less than a year old. The names were indexed according to the following criteria: persons arrested or about to be arrested for narcotics, violent revolutionary activity, gambling and prostitution; names submitted by other agencies; victims; informers; sex-related crimes and pornographers. The index also contained noncoded entries of activist faculty, Kent city ministers and members of the VVAW, the Black United Students and the Kent Gay Liberation Front. According to the subcommittee report there were no index entry codes for property theft—the most common campus crime—or for such other fairly common crimes as assault or drunk and disorderly.

One evening late in the spring quarter, while the effort to gain access to the files was being pushed, White drove from the KSU campus to downtown Kent to visit some friends. Shortly after arriving, he looked out the front window of his friend's house and saw an unmarked car parked across the street with two KSU security officers inside. Parked a short distance away was a KSU police cruiser with two more officers inside. In the driveway of the house was another unmarked car with three KSU security officers and director of security Fyke inside. White and a lawyer friend went outside to find out what the KSU police were doing. They were told that a license plate check was being run on the lawyer's car which was parked in the driveway. Later, when the CSAC asked Fyke what his department's jurisdiction was outside KSU property, Fyke said, "Our authority off campus is that of a private citizen."

Throughout the spring and summer, Fyke denied repeatedly that the information in the intelligence dossiers was being shared with other agencies. Finally, at the August 18th CSAC meeting, he reversed himself and admitted that for more than a year and a half the KSU security force had been exchanging files at weekly and biweekly meetings with local police departments, the Ohio State Patrol, the Ohio National Guard and other agencies. According to CSAC documents, Fyke also expressed a belief that "any employer has a right to know all he can about a prospective employee, regardless of whether it is information of a noncriminal or personal nature."

The dissemination of the KSU intelligence data is probably far greater than even this would indicate. In one of his first moves as security director, Fyke tied the KSU security force into the FBI's National Crime Information Center (NCIC), a highly computerized information storage and retrieval system that by 1975 will provide every police agency in the United States with access to the records of every other police agency.

While the battle of the dossiers was being fought in Kent, Ron Mohr was moving toward a reinstatement hearing before the Ohio State Personnel Board of Review. The hearing was held in Columbus on October 4, before two of the board's three members, Frank E. Avren and Earl W. Allison. Avren is a former state highway patrolman; Allison is a former prosecuting attorney in Franklin County (Columbus), who admitted during the hearing that he had supervised undercover narcotics agents as part of his job.

There are at least four peculiarities about the hearings. First, neither of the two veterans who exposed Mohr, Ken Johnson or Alan Morris, was subpoenaed to testify. Second, the witnesses against Mohr were intensively questioned off the record about their political and social beliefs. Third, the name of Jim Rucker—the man whom Mohr identified during the hearing as having sold him the AK-47 and the RPG—was deleted from the official transcript. Finally there was the board's finding which reinstated Mohr. It said, in part:

> . . . the Board [was] not favorably impressed by the demeanor of these three witnesses [against Mohr] on the stand. In several instances, it was the manner of speaking and the tone of voice rather than the content of the answers which detracted from the credibility of the witnesses. . . .
>
> In view of the commendable way he was carrying out his undercover assignment and his straightforward and candid testimony, as opposed to the many factors detracting from the credibility of his accusers, we are *compelled* (*sic*) to find [for] the appellant. . . .

At that point the university dropped its efforts to remove Mohr from the security force.

Commenting on the current situation, McKinley said, "I've told President Olds he's lost control of the police

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department. There are people up there who have no notion of the First Amendment to the Constitution. They think they're going to hold back the Communist tide. Our Constitution's been abrogated up there and it has to be reasserted."

Speaking before the CSAC, Fyke said: "The president's office knew about Ron Mohr many months ago. They knew that he was under. They knew his name. I had assistance from the personnel office in seeing that his name was not publicly bandied about. So I'm not taking anybody's heat. I don't want anybody thinking I was doing anything underhanded and scurrilous and secretive and that other members of the administration didn't know anything about it."

On November 27, 1972, the Ohio Civil Liberties Union and the ACLU national office brought suit against Kent State University, its top officials and members of its security force in U.S. District Court in Cleveland. The ACLU charged the university with unlawful acts of provocation. Further, acting on behalf of the VVAW and various students, the American Civil Liberties Union asked more than $250,000 in damages and an injunction against any further undercover political surveillance on the part of the university.

On January 5, Ohio state attorneys moved for dismissal of the case. The state called first for sovereign immunity. Since all the defendants were being sued for the performance of their official duties as they understood them, the state attorneys argued, the suit in effect was really against the state of Ohio. Therefore the ACLU and the Kent plaintiffs must have the state's consent to be sued. Ohio would not consent. Further, the state attorneys said that even the alleged violations of the plaintiffs' constitutional rights "does not, in itself, preclude the operation of sovereign immunity," because undercover police operations, including Mohr's activities as a provocateur, are part of the state's "highest function; namely to react swiftly and decisively to insure the protection of the public security."

The state of Ohio also contended that, since nothing had happened to them, the Kent plaintiffs had no grounds for pressing the case. The state attorneys wrote: "Plaintiffs would apparently seek a recovery from this Court because they have developed a paranoia and are plagued with fears that have never been realized. Actions under the federal Civil Rights Act must be based on *real* and not imagined or speculative" violations of one's constitutional rights. The state attorneys continued, "The Constitution does *not* guarantee that government officials disclose their identity as such to any person. The risk of being . . . betrayed by an informer . . . is the kind of risk we necessarily assume whenever we speak."

Finally, the state attorneys called for a dismissal of the case because the plaintiffs were not really interested in claiming damages. Rather, the plaintiffs were seeking a broad-scale investigation of KSU's security and intelligence-gathering activities, to be conducted by themselves as private parties armed with the subpoena power of a federal district court and the power of cross-examination. The state attorneys warned, "courts should not venture into a realm foreign to the judiciary, one in which manageable standards may not yet have been developed, to resolve the competing claims as to the appropriateness of technical details of the security system."

What it all comes down to is that the state of Ohio has declared the highest function of government to be the maintenance of security. To achieve this end the state of Ohio has time and again shown itself willing to permit, even to demand, that its security officers perform acts that, were they committed by a private citizen, would be criminal. It is no coincidence that the chief case cited by the state in its move to dismiss the Mohr case was *Krause* v. *Rhodes*. Krause is a Pittsburgh electrical company executive who is trying to sue the state of Ohio for the wrongful death of his daughter, Allison. Along with Jeffrey Miller, Sandy Scheuer and Bill Schroeder, she was killed by the Ohio National Guard on May 4, 1970, at Kent State University.

The courts held in that case that the Guardsmen who killed the four students and wounded nine others were agents and instrumentalities of the state and, as such, immune to justice in the U.S. courts. □

YOUNG Dr. SLOANE

W. E. CHILTON III
Mr. Chilton is publisher of the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette.

Not the least significant event of 1972 was the late autumn announcement out of the Chicago headquarters of the American Medical Association that the annual budget had been tightened and revised, due to the drop in membership. For the first time in decades less than half of the country's 325,000 doctors were paying AMA dues.

Among the missing was Dr. George Harvey Ingalls Sloane, who quit in 1971 in anticipation of being a Democratic candidate for mayor of Louisville, Ky. His resignation, it is safe to conclude, didn't distress the world's shrillest lobby. Sloane has been decrying AMA policies since moving to Louisville in 1966 after two years with the U. S. Public Health Service.

He has written for the Louisville *Courier-Journal* articles which contain such comments as this one, borrowed from the dean of the Harvard Medical School: "To ask the American Medical Association to experiment with medical-care delivery is rather like asking the Longshoremen's union to experiment with prepackaged shipments calculated to reduce the need for dock workers."

Another Sloane essay defied local conventional wisdom

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by positing that the proposed replacement of a new $36 million facility for the city's antiquated General Hospital was an injudicious expenditure of taxpayers' money. Sloane supports Sen. Edward Kennedy's national health insurance plan—anathema to the AMA—and urged its enactment more than a year ago when he testified before Rep. Wilbur Mills's House Ways and Means Committee. An ardent advocate of preventive medicine, he thinks too many surgeons are knife-happy and insensitive to the conflict of interest associated with their profession.

To publicize an anti-pollution meeting in 1968, Sloane, then chairman of Action for Clean Air, conceived of and led a "smogasbord" demonstration through the downtown area. Marchers wearing gas or surgical masks handed out rally invitations to onlookers. Subsequently, he was appointed by a Republican official to a four-year term on the Louisville and Jefferson County Air Pollution Control Board. Several Kentucky industrialists have the date his term expires circled in red on their calendars.

Sloane, born into the local gentry thirty-five years ago, spent his youth in the fox-hunting country of Warrenton, Va., which he was glad to leave for good in 1947. Neither the hunt nor the life style of "yoicks and away" appealed to him. After graduating from St. Paul's, Sloane went on to Yale, where he was captain of the squash team and a member of Scroll and Key. He earned his medical degree from Western Reserve School of Medicine and continued his medical education as an intern under Dr. George Crile, Jr., at the Cleveland clinic.

Sloane has never considered wealth a barrier to hard toil or the varied life. He has picked celery with migrant Mexicans in California and strawberries with Indians in Oregon. He once shod horses in Wyoming, has hoboed freights in Montana, worked on an oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico, and sweated in heavy construction along the Peace River in western Canada.

He has roamed the foothills of the Himalayas and ascended Mt. Kilimanjaro. In 1962 he joined an international nutrition survey team to study hunger in Malaysia. Upon leaving the Public Health Service he signed up with the American Medical Association Volunteers to Vietnam to treat Vietnamese civilians out of a ramshackle disgrace, sardonically called a hospital, built near the turn of the century. Somehow he has also found time to visit health facilities in Peru and the Soviet Union.

Sloane's finest achievement to date was establishing Louisville's Park-DuValle Neighborhood Health Center, which cares for 15,000 poor and near poor and handles some 100,000 patient visits annually. Funded by the OEO, the project was started six years ago. Sloane became the first director in 1967, the year the center opened. He has now resigned that post, preparatory to launching a political career.

The center dovetails nicely with Sloane's ideas of what American medicine must do, if the nation is to provide adequate care for all its citizens. It is superbly equipped and staffed largely by full-time doctors, it being Sloane's twofold demand that doctors employed at the center not have outside patients and that they be committed to serving humanity. The center's color scheme would rival Joseph's coat. "When patients walk in here," explains Sloane, "I want them to come alive, not to be depressed by the drab décor found in most hospitals."

At the outset the center concentrated on curing illness; now it is practicing preventive medicine. It has 300 employees, 100 of whom are in para-professional training. It runs an ambulance service—the only qualified one in Louisville—for 125,000 people. Its hospitalization fees for registered clients are one-half those for the rest of the city's inhabitants. Finally, the center worries about not only the medical history of its patients but about their whole manner of living, and out-reach programs are aiding patients in ways barely related to medicine.

Sloane explains that he chose Louisville as his adopted home because "It enjoys the benefits of a large city while still having a small-town atmosphere. Its problems are solvable, unlike some cities, and America's future depends upon the future of its cities." He wants to be mayor because he considers that the executive branch of government is where change is best effected these days. Entering politics, he says, is simply an extension of his interest and work in public service.

What are his mayoralty chances? Less than excellent, but who thought Arnold Miller would beat the stuffing out of Tony Boyle? And wasn't Kentucky's Louie Nunn originally rated a shoo-in?

Sloane's toughest primary opponent probably will be Carroll Witten, president of the Louisville Board of Aldermen and acting mayor when the Mayor is out of town. Witten, too, is a doctor, but he hasn't resigned from the AMA. Nor will he.

In October, during a debate with Sloane on the need for national health insurance, Witten said: "I am unalterably opposed to socialized medicine. And I don't want the American people deluded in the matter of national health insurance either." That same evening Sloane said: "If we as a country cannot care for our people but can only subsidize such inept railroads as the Penn Central and airplane companies as Lockheed, then our future is indeed dim."

Thus a classic confrontation is shaping up for the May 29th primary between two doctors turned politicians. Although they are both of the same party, their ideological positions clash right across the board. The incumbent Mayor, who isn't allowed to succeed himself, has yet to express a preference in the race, but Witten clearly is the favorite.

It would be foolish, however, to count Sloane out. He has some things going for him: his persistence, his persnicketiness, his anti-Establishment record, his profound sense of what's wrong in America today—he quit Louisville's exclusive Pendennis Club several years ago in protest against its racial policies—his Park-DuValle Medical Center, and possibly the AMA's dwindling membership, which would seem to indicate that anyone endorsing its policies, as does Witten, is trying to canoe upstream with a feather for a paddle. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Black Mountain Was There

BLACK MOUNTAIN: An Exploration in Community. *By Martin Duberman. E. P. Dutton & Co. 527 pp. $12.95.*

CATHARINE R. STIMPSON
Ms. Stimpson, a member of the Barnard English Department, is working on a series of critical essays about Charles Olson.

Many who have heard of Black Mountain College have probably heard only of the now famous people who were there when they were younger, poorer, and much less famous: Josef and Anni Albers, Eric Bentley, John Cage, Robert Creeley, Merce Cunningham, Buckminster Fuller, Paul Goodman, Francine duPlessix Gray, Franz Kline, Charles Olson, Arthur Penn, Robert Rauschenberg, David Tudor, Stefan Wolpe, Stan Vanderbeek. But Black Mountain was less a training school for stars than a model of "disdain for life as it is usually lived and some unsettled notions . . . as to how it might be made different and better." It is also a model of the perils of such virtues. Places, like persons, get the histories they deserve. A measure of Black Mountain is the richness, mass and interest of the book it has provoked: Martin Duberman's exceptional *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community*.

Black Mountain opened in the fall of 1933 near the town in western North Carolina where Billy Graham was born. Indeed, the college was first housed in some buildings that a Protestant assembly used for summer conferences. Its founders were four men who had been purged from Rollins College in Florida during an internal "fracas," which had transformed, yet again, the ideal of academic freedom into a real farce. The president of Rollins thought of himself as an educational pioneer—not the last irony Black Mountain was to experience. The four exiles, admirers of John Dewey, who visited the region twice in 1934-35, wanted to build there an innovative college, a decent community, and a humane means of survival.

The college was as isolated as the magic mountain itself. Slowly, consciously and unconsciously, it developed its own rules, written and unwritten. In 1940 and 1941, the staff and students, immersed in the work ethic, helped to construct a new physical plant a few miles away on Lake Eden. As Duberman drily notes, Black Mountain names often radiated a symbolic light. By the fall of 1956, the "little universe" was both broke and broken. Only a handful of students and two faculty members were there when the decision was made to close. Paradoxically, as if extremity were necessary for brilliance, the erratic last years were among the college's most demonically illustrious.

Three men, through character, dominated Black Mountain: John Andrew Rice, the center of the Rollins storm, whose connection with the college was finally severed in 1940; Josef Albers, the painter, who arrived late in 1933 and left in 1949; and Charles Olson, the poet, who settled in in 1951 and who presided over the school's burial. Very different men, each imposed his own style. In a 1964 interview, Robert Creeley commented that Albers and others from the Bauhaus were less "persuaded by the social ethic" than the Rollins people. Instead, they were "thinking of the functional concept of the arts and of the organization of the intelligence." Duberman writes that after Olson, Black Mountain for the first time became "a decidedly American and a decidedly radical environment."

No matter what the period, Black Mountain appears to have been a refuge for exiles. Some, like the Alberses, were Europeans fleeing the most extreme political tyranny and personal danger. Others, like most of the Americans, were fleeing a society that abused, mocked or ignored the exceptional sensibility. For some, of course, Black Mountain was simply a temporary station on the track to grandeur. Those to whom Black Mountain was home often resented such academic cavaliers. People freely chose to believe in the ideals that the college—at its best—embodied. People freely chose to rebel against the world that surrounded the college. Yet, in a sense, Black Mountain was born, not out of freedom but out of necessity. There was, often literally, nowhere else to go to.

A sign of the valor that Duberman finds in Black Mountain was the seriousness with which its residents responded to that mixed condition. Their educational ideas, which now seem conventional, were inseparable from their ethics. Being educated or being an educator demanded the commitment of the entire person. As a consequence, education meant high risk and exposure—to ideas and to others. One of the disagreements among the Black Mountain faculty, which owned the school, was over the agent responsible for soothing the pain of exposure. Was it the suffering person, or was it the community? Am I my own, or my brother's keeper?

The most effective education, they all thought, was self-generated. The usual apparatus of school (e.g., grades) sacrificed the student to a system. Despite the wild verbal flights of Charles Olson, who was, at his worst, a Rabelaisian parody of the culture-hopper, Black Mountain liked the particular. In moral terms, this meant the single person. In aesthetic terms, this meant the very materials of the arts—the clay, the paper, the word, even the syllable. Yet, the particular should become part of a process. In moral terms, this meant creating an active person, or a blessed community, or both; in aesthetic terms, creating a painting or a pot or a poem.

Even in the college's healthiest period, after World War II, fewer than 100 students were enrolled. Some of Duberman's most pathetic-comic passages describe one kind of student that a tiny, new experimental college is apt to get, the problem child in search of a last resort. The usual student took a couple of years of general work in classes that each teacher was free to design as he chose, and then, after an exam, passed on to specialized work. Students decided when they were ready to be graduated. Diplomas were hand-lettered. Salaries were too low, science and library facilities too scanty for Black Mountain ever to get accreditation. However, a number of graduate schools accepted Black Mountain students on the college's recommendation, after Harvard and Radcliffe did it first.

Given such hopes, given such talent, the closing of the college was tragic, if instructive. The people were "fugitives from middle-class life," who knew how to get financial support, but money worries were nevertheless unceasing. In 1954, faculty members were owed $45,000 in back salaries. If it had been able to last another decade, until the quest for alternative education had become a fashion, Black Mountain would probably have been able to draw many more affluent students. But at the end, no single person was still passionately

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determined to keep the place open. Olson, then rector-designate, was apparently willing to have the college change from an institution into a legend that might sustain and excite those who had lived through it and those who wished they had. Though a compelling teacher, he had always worried about the demands that teaching made on his creative energies, and he needed to write his masterwork, *The Maximus Poems*. Moreover, some of the early members of the Black Mountain community had become "wholly alienated" from the later ones, finding them chaotic, bizarre, demented, decadent. Their inability to permit the idea of Black Mountain to transcend their idea of the appropriate was an example of what Duberman elsewhere calls "the tenacity of culture."

The tension between founders and heirs was but one of a number of tensions. Duberman reminds himself to remind us that daily life at Black Mountain had more than the usual share of joy, of the exhilaration of sharing a high and common purpose, of vitality, of happiness. Yet, because of his temperament, because of the dramatic nature of conflict, he spends a good deal of energy dissecting fights. Some were psychological, either match-ups among ferocious egos or examples of the community's need to turn against its leaders. Repeatedly, the most powerful men were either asked to resign or resigned after bitter schisms developed. Duberman, even though he distrusts reductive notions of "human nature," hints that some of the turbulence re-enacted the ancient pattern of sons against a father, Zeus against Kronos. Of Rice's forced departure, he says, "The palace revolution had been achieved; the son—all the sons—were on the throne."

Factionalism arose, too, over moral, political and social questions. The Carolina citizens who lived near the college increasingly thought it a hotbed of nude, free-loving Reds. Fielding Dawson, in his charming, oddly sinister memoir of being a son and a Black Mountain student in the 1950s, *The Black Mountain Book* (1970), says, "Outside people hated us." But the college itself, though liberal, was not entirely above the prejudices of North Carolina. People wrangled over integration before the first blacks were admitted—in 1945—to the summer institutes. Many were rigidly anti-Communist. Until the 1950s, attitudes about sex were stiff, about homosexuality intolerable. In 1945, Robert Wunsch, who had been both theatre director and rector, was arrested in his car with a Marine and charged with a crime against nature. A judge softened the accusation, but Wunsch almost immediately left Black Mountain, alone, at dawn, every member of the community ignoring him. Some even said he had betrayed them. Wunsch simply disappeared—a nonperson.

Finally, the arguments were over issues basic to the nature of Black Mountain, and by extension, to any college, to any community. Was Black Mountain a college, in which learning and working came first, or was it a community, in which the well-being of its members came first? If a college, what was the role of the past? Was it a body of fact and event that students should master, or "did a preoccupation with the past, as Albers claimed, produce imitation and prevent creativity?" How might the freedom of all and the authority of some, whether legally bestowed or willfully claimed, be reconciled? Would a consensus resolve questions, or would a natural aristocracy of charisma, talent or strength well up to do so?

Perhaps one deep struggle was between two Western styles: the romantic, "precarious," disorderly, fertile; and the classical, "orderly, prearranged, and specialized," which we may synthesize in rhetoric, but not in a high-strung experiment, ambitious for an institution that rejected a competitive society. Certainly one deep struggle was between two undertakings: ". . . establishing a community in which people shared common purposes and responsibilities, and creating a climate in which art of the highest excellence might flourish." Apparently the two were incompatible. On the basis of Duberman's account, it is unclear whether this might be true for all communities, or only for one in which art was linked to a "higher" personality, a "holier" life.

As much as Black Mountain doubted education as usual, its historian doubts history as usual. He commands what one might call ordinary techniques. He has read the 100,000 Black Mountain papers in the North Carolina State Archives. He has taped hundreds of interviews. He has received masses of original written material. He has run down the relevant secondary sources. He knows about the American utopian communities of the past and present. He respects the people about whom he writes—living and dead. The book has 77 pages of notes. Yet Duberman describes history as a discipline that nurtures the illusion of scientific objectivity; that graphs and quantifies the mysterious qualities of human experience; that refuses to admit the simple truth that a historian, a person writing about people, shapes, even falsifies, his material.

THERE IS ONLY ONE OF EVERYTHING

Not a tree but the tree
we saw, it will never exist, split by the wind and bending down
like that again. What will push out of the earth

later, making it summer, will not be
grass, leaves, repetition, there will
have to be other words. When my

eyes close language vanishes. The cat
with the divided face, half black half orange
nests in my scruffy fur coat, I drink tea,

fingers curved around the cup, impossible
to duplicate these flavours. The table
and freak plates glow softly, consuming themselves,

I look out at you and you occur
in this winter kitchen, random as trees or sentences,
entering me, fading like them, in time you will disappear

but the way you dance by yourself
on the tile floor to a trite song, flat and mournful,
so delighted, spoon waved in one hand, wisps of roughened hair

sticking up from your head, it's your surprised
body, pleasure I like. I can even say it,
though only once and it won't

last: I want this. I want
this.

Margaret Atwood

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The book, which took five years to write, has two revealing epigraphs. The first, from Thoreau, tells us that the speaker in any book speaks in the first person. The next, from Charles Olson, is, "I would be a historian as Herodotus is, looking/for oneself for the evidence of what is said." Like Herodotus, Duberman is a primary investigator and witness whenever possible. Like Herodotus, he writes narrative—anecdotal, scenic, dramatic. As analyst and presence, he injects himself energetically into the work. Parenthetical comment, passages from journals, personal statements, recreations of Black Mountain faculty meetings in which Duberman takes a part—all make us aware of two subjects: the college and the writer. A fervent nominalist, he enjoys the particular, the diverse, the "gorgeous peculiarities" and plasticity of people. In company, he is "blandly agreeable" if he can be. At work, he is a compulsive perfectionist who uses his mastery of detail and of language to exact attention and praise for his performance. Only knowing him, he insists, will let us know what he has done to the past. He remarks, quietly, that he is a homosexual, to warn us that he may distort the story of Robert Wunsch.

He asks history to matter to him. "If," he writes in his journal, "I can't use their truth to track some new area in my own life, the book isn't worth writing." In effect, history and historian serve each other. The historian makes the past grow in the present. The past makes the historian grow for the future. Duberman is a relativist (each person shapes a unique past), but he is also an absolutist (each time I shape the past I must alter in some good way).

From time to time Duberman protests too much. Is the revolution in historiography really that revolutionary? I wish, too, that he had written more about the effect that Black Mountain had on the complicated people, especially the anonymous ones, who went there. The college left several legacies: the work artists did; an exemplum, even a myth, of a "little universe"; and the personal transformations of its residents. A college that wants to educate the whole person is susceptible to the test of the lives of the persons it undertakes to educate. Duberman, who reminds us that no one can accurately map the inner terrain of others, did not intend to write a subjective history of everyone who was at Black Mountain. Yet the book seems truncated—despite some comments, despite some notes—because one wants to learn more about what happened afterward. For example: how many became politically active? A Black Mountain theory was that one lived with one's peers, work and the universe, but stayed "monkishly indifferent," even contemptuous, of the world outside. One never slogged through politics to change society—even if, or perhaps because, society distrusted its iconoclasts and unsuccessful artists. Did the theory survive the sixties?

An effect of Duberman's honorable nerviness is that the need to make clear a personal "stance" (to use a word of Olson's) is contagious. I wonder if I have shown how much I welcome this book. If not, a few more sentences. I am sure I would have been miserable at Black Mountain. Not only am I wary and antipathetic to communal life but I am a woman. The patriarchal attitudes, the ghastly *machismo* that Duberman says flourished during its last years, would have hurt me. Yet last summer I wanted to write a book about the place. Then I read excerpts from Duberman's book in *Change* magazine. I was excited, relieved, because the work that had to be done had been done. Reading the book, it is hard to imagine how it might have been done more intelligently.

Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community has the virtues we expect of fiction: the texture and spaciousness of the 19th-century novel; the self-consciousness on the part of the creator of many 20th-century novels and their random predecessors; the suspense of a subtle detective story. Yet Black Mountain was there. To say that it was a failure is only to say that institutions should be immutable. To say that it had its failures is only to say that intellectuals, artists and students were frail, quarrelsome, unable to translate their disdain of external politics into a disdain for internal squabbling; that diverse experiences—exile from Europe, a secure American birth—cause not diversity but dissent. To say that a Black Mountain College had to be founded in penury, rebellion and flight is to accuse the deepest structures and institutions of European and American society. □

Artists Without Certitudes

APOLLINAIRE ON ART: Essays and Reviews 1902-1918. *By Guillaume Apollinaire. Edited by LeRoy C. Breunig. Translated by Susan Suleiman. The Viking Press. 546 pp. $17.50. Paper $5.95.*

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Apollinaire's art criticism has been reprinted almost in its entirety, and now translated, because he is a poet-critic. Without Apollinaire's poetry it is not likely that his plentiful occasional reviewing would have been collected. His art criticism is not written out of his poetic resources (except for a few set pieces on Picasso), as is the case of Baudelaire on Delacroix or Francis Ponge on Georges Braque, to name but two of the long run of French poets who have written on art. Apollinaire wrote from straight journalistic motives: deadlines to meet and rent to pay. The fact that he was a participant in the art world, Marie Laurencin's lover, a friend of artists, improved his access and extended his subject matter, but did not tempt him to deep interpretation. Often he repeats himself like a busy writer depending on immediate impressions: in 1910 he praises a nude by Jean Puy, saying it has "the slenderness and boldness of a little Venetian courtesan whom Casanova might have loved once"; and in the following year he writes that Puy's "fleecy and charming nudes have a sensuality that would justify the adventurous passion of a Casanova."

Apollinaire had a gift for one-line gags, often aimed at academic artists. "M. Maxence has exchanged his red-haired model for a blonde, and like her predecessor, she is holding a book of hours." Another, with a nice twist, goes like this: "M. Bertin, whose name was immortalized by Ingres, is showing us bloodless nymphs who look as if they could use Pills for Pale People." Neither of these artists is remembered today, though a lot of us remember Ingres' portrait of another Bertin. There is a tendency to judge art writers of the past by the extent to which the names of the artists they wrote about survive, but to apply this measure too strictly to Apollinaire is off the point. One would not want to lose, for instance, such put-downs (quoted here complete) as: "Gustave Courtois has given up painting pictures of Hercules." In a more ambitious moment Apollinaire declared: "The critic must be as accurate as posterity; he must speak in the present the words of the future." His own predictive power was excellent, as demonstrated by his prompt and ardent backing of Picasso from the

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Pink period, and his singling out early paintings by Giorgio de Chirico at the Salon d'Automne, 1913.

Apollinaire's support of cubism and, in particular, of Robert Delaunay's Orphism, for which he was partly responsible, is what connects his criticism with the present interests of art history. His support of cubism is an expression of a reconciling vision of modernity as an exultant geometry, and of aesthetic absolutes, also geometric, but deriving from the Latin or Mediterranean past. In 1902 he reflects: "How inestimable would be the value of a museum where one could trace Latin culture from antiquity through the Middle Ages and up to modern times." This theme recurs throughout the book, finally hardening into banality under the pressures of World War I. In the catalogue of an exhibition in Oslo in 1916 he declares, "Probably no country in the world is better prepared to commune with French art than Norway." And in another text of the same year he attacks the scandalous idea "that 'modern' is synonymous with 'boche.' . . . Actually, cubism and its sister movement futurism are . . . essentially the products of Latin civilization." However, until this time Apollinaire had persistently denigrated futurism as "a popular, flashy art," precisely because, since it was outside classicizing Parisian style, it could not be the heir of the great tradition.

His patriotic Latinity provided Apollinaire with a secure point within the flashing, random judgments of journalism. For example, in a text on Braque in 1908, he declares roundly, "There is now room for a more noble, more measured, more orderly, and more cultivated art," by which he means nonrealistic, geometricized painting and sculpture. This idealistic bias even leads him to apply Michelangelo's dismissal of Flemish art (as trivial compared to the grandeur of Renaissance forms) to "the great majority of modern paintings." It is for his championing of the cubists that Apollinaire is best remembered, but my impression is that these texts, the supposed evidence of his percipience, are in fact his most conventional. He is writing confidently from a position of high-level abstraction (identifying *l'esprit moderne* with classicism) that seems, now, painfully dated. If it still seems applicable to cubism it is only because of the inertia of cubist studies.

My first reaction upon reading *Apollinaire on Art* was that he had been wrong to expend so much time on artists involved in light occasions. I felt that LeRoy C. Breunig should have edited him more, cutting out repetitions (Puy and Casanova, for instance) and trivialities. My second take is that this is really the valuable part of the book, far more significant than the belated neo-classicism of early cubist theory. Apollinaire is writing about a crowded art scene in a mosaic that stretches far beyond the self-confirming elitist views of earlier critics. Reviewing the Salon des Indépendents for 1910, in several episodes, he starts the third part, "Let us continue our tour of these miles and miles of paintings." At an exhibition of the Aquarellistes Français in the following year he writes: "What happens to all the paintings one sees exhibited? I think that they probably melt away. *Mais ou sont les neiges d'antan?*"

Apollinaire's criticism is unique for his awareness of the population problem: artists had increased in number and the channels for distributing their products had become more efficient, both in terms of volume and speed in transit. Apollinaire saw this numerical change as no other critic seems to have done, and his sense of the demographic problems of a crowded art world is a strong counterweight to his narrow classicizing ideas. Reviewing the Salon de la Nationale in 1910 he reflected: "In painting . . . there are no longer any masters, since there are no longer any pupils. There are only artists without certitudes, who submit themselves to uncertain influences. That is why in the absence of mastery one must sometimes praise the virtuosity and even the consummate art of pastiche in the paintings of the Nationale." This insight into the position of artists who must choose their own styles out of a historical abundance of possibilities, rather than rely on historical imperatives or even the master-pupil relationship, applies to the highly educated and densely populated art world of New York today no less than to Paris in the early 20th century. Abstract painting, for instance, shows at present a surfeit of skills accompanied by incertitude.

Reading Apollinaire's art criticism, then, turns out to be an antidote to the simplification of the past which reduces specific events and relationships to easily learnable patterns. By comparison to the authentic, disordered scene of which Apollinaire writes, our distant view of his period is brutally simplified and vulgarly streamlined into a small pantheon of great artists, agreed-on masterpieces, and dominant movements in neat causal sequences, Apollinaire presents us, in his rapid, vivid, capacious pieces, with unfiltered reactions to a period's art, in which diversity and multiple choice are as real as in our own time. The complexity of 1902-18 is like the complexity of one's own experience of the present moment. □

The Problem of Conscious Virtue

SINCERITY AND AUTHENTICITY. *By Lionel Trilling. Harvard University Press. 188 pp. $7.95.*

CHARLES MOLESWORTH
Mr. Molesworth teaches English at Queens College. He has published poetry and criticism in Salmagundi, Poetry, Centennial Review *and* Genre.

It has been increasingly difficult, as Herbert Marcuse argues somewhere, to distinguish between the most progressive forces in our society, and the most reactionary. This could be written off as just another restatement of the cliché that opposites merge at their extremes, or dismissed as an aging savant's frustration at trying to interpret the counter-culture's revolutionary possibilities. But it has the ring of familiar experience nonetheless, though in the midst of an increasingly pluralistic alienation (there are now so many ways to be false, has anyone remembered to keep track of the truth?), it may be one more momentarily satisfying insight which gets absorbed into the commonplace. What it does suggest, however, is that most often those social movements don't themselves know what effect they will have, when and if they achieve all or part of their aims. And the same is true of individuals as well; one has strenuously to avoid being bored by another restatement of the oldest of truths: we don't know what we are, we don't know what we might be. Lionel Trilling's new book, the Charles Eliot Norton lectures for 1969-70, approaches this persistent ignorance not so much with an eye to eradicating it, as with the hope of comprehending the terms—literally, the words—but also of course the concepts, through which we discover the problem.

Trilling's argument has a clearly discernible historical outline. Starting with the Renaissance, roughly, but reaching full power with Rousseau and the beginnings of the 19th century, Western man has been preoccupied with how he might best be true to himself so that he might not then "be false to any man." Such

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moral value as was represented by the term "sincerity" had definite social implications. Increased social mobility, which began in the 16th century to increase almost in geometric progression, produced a new type, the villain, capable of concealing his true feelings and opinions in order to advance himself. Sincerity became problematic, as witness Iago; but demands for too pure a sincerity could be equally problematic, as witness Alceste in Molière's *Le Misanthrope*. Eventually the Romantic discovery of the self's inscrutable power and longings led to another, different sort of problem: this was encapsulated in the term "authenticity."

In the matter of authenticity, there can be "no within and without," no correspondence between public and private selves. For the "authentic" man, Rousseau's sentiment of being, or what Trilling calls the passionate emphasis "upon the individual's experience of his existence," becomes the sole source of moral value. Again, extreme examples illuminate the difficulty in honoring value so derived; Conrad's Kurtz, in *Heart of Darkness*, who defines his authenticity only through terrible deeds, or Bartleby, Melville's anti-hero, who discovers that the only response "to the inauthenticity of the social world is to lie down in his isolation and die." Trilling gives a variety of examples of the two virtues of sincerity and authenticity, and his argument unfolds in subtle and challenging ways. His procedure demands considerable eclecticism, in the positive sense of that word, and a single chapter can move from Kurtz to Marinetti, the Italian futurist, dealing with George Eliot and Oscar Wilde in between.

But despite such breadth in his historical examples, and despite the book's opening observation that "Now and then it is possible to observe the moral life in process of revising itself," Trilling is not exclusively concerned with the history of ideas. At the same time, he avoids taking subjective stands on the issues, at least until he discusses R. D. Laing in the last chapter; the modest size of the volume would imply a reluctance to appear definitive, even if the author were not quite explicit on this point. The main strength of the book, besides its own modesty in avoiding such a claim, arises from its having chosen a theme which is central to the modern consciousness. In fact, the last turns of the argument, which lead to a brief but trenchant discussion of R. D. Laing and Herbert Marcuse, suggest that the book may have been written in order to answer a simple, difficult question: how have we come to be so confused?

Near the end of his final chapter, Trilling interjects a parenthetical remark of broad implications. He says, "it is characteristic of the intellectual life of our culture that it fosters a form of assent which does not involve actual credence." Assent without credence—a concise diagnosis of our chief malady. Trilling introduced his special distinction between "assent" and "credence" in reviewing an edition of Joyce's letters about five years ago. In that review he argued that modern novelists such as Flaubert gave credence to the world, but withheld assent to its values, whereas more contemporary novelists not only denied the world their assent but their credence as well. Now he has returned to these two terms to describe a condition in which not only sincerity but also authenticity becomes fairly impossible. For, to use Trilling's own terms, if a man habitually agrees to what he doesn't or can't believe, not only are his public and private selves sundered but he soon discovers that he has lost the capacity to understand his own experience. Though this prospect is nowhere the object of direct investigation, its possibilities determine the chief concerns of this book.

Though it is the most difficult part of the discussion, the second chapter, "The Honest Soul and the Disintegrated Consciousness," offers a good place to observe Trilling's method. It begins by examining Diderot's *Rameau's Nephew*. This book, praised as the paradigm of the modern and spiritual condition by Goethe, and lauded by Hegel, Marx and Freud, serves as Trilling's focus for the "moment" in which the moral categories of society can be transcended. The character of Rameau's nephew epitomizes the nature of Hegel's Spirit, whose true realization comes only when it "frees itself from limiting conditions to press towards autonomy." Trilling concentrates on Hegel's reading of the Diderot novel, in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, where the dialectician praises not the social responsibility of Diderot, the sage voice in the dialogue, but rather Rameau's nephew, who is described as the "self-estranged spirit." In Hegel's view, the self-realization of Spirit comes about through the changing relation of the individual to the external power of society. To further shorten Trilling's condensation of Hegel's argument, the individual at first internalizes social values in "obedient service," becoming the "Honest Soul," but eventually grows antagonistic to society, becomes in fact "base," but yet "noble." Guilty and covert in breaking with society, he also suffers alienation and disintegration because of the breach between his social pretenses and his real intentions—and ends by moving toward a loss of self that becomes a truer, more noble preservation. "Alienation of self is really self-preservation."

Trilling concludes this chapter by discussing Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* as an enactment of this Hegelian dialectic, but with an important difference. Werther is trapped in his own sincerity, and unlike Rameau's nephew, the German hero is incapable of irony. Though his consciousness disintegrates, he "persisted in clinging to the simplicity of his honest soul." He may be sincere, but he fails to be properly authentic. Even in brief synopsis it should be clear that Trilling here sketches the change from sincerity to authenticity as the chief moral value of Western man, and he says that Hegel's account of the "two historic modes" of the self "bears upon our contemporary cultural situation with an appositeness which must be immediately and forcibly apparent."

When Trilling begins his fifth chapter, called "Society and Authenticity," he says he takes Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* to be the "paradigmatic literary expression of the modern concern with authenticity." He then compares the short novel explicitly with *Rameau's Nephew*: both concern "a man of unimpeachable moral character . . . not inclined to raise radical questions about life," who is confronted by another man whose cynicism undermines every belief that makes the issue of social experience possible. Conrad's story "contains in sum the whole of the radical critique of European civilization." This chapter, too, contains an implicit critique of modern culture; at the same time it painstakingly praises that culture for what Trilling is almost tempted to call its heroically radical honesty. Almost tempted, but not quite. He says, near the end of this penultimate chapter:

> Surely something not less than violent was needed to startle this dull pain of the social world and make it move and live, to retrieve the human spirit from its acquiescence in non-being.

Is this his own feeling, with that careful rhetorical evasion of "something not less than violent"? Or is he merely presenting what he thinks the authors are saying, in works as diverse as *Little Dorrit* and the Futurist *Manifesto*? It may be unfair to ask a critic for the same authenticity we demand of contemporary writers, but with a subject as serious as this one, and a critic adept at clarifying it, the questions rebound to the investigator himself.

Whatever doubts may be raised about Trilling's distrust of the social world, the last chapter dispels them. For it is in this chapter that Trilling turns to Freud, and to *Civilization and its Discontents* in particular. He begins with Sartre's attack on psychoanalysis from the second chapter of *Being and Nothingness*, an attack ferocious in its implications and implacable

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in its logic. Though Sartre's attack is modified somewhat by Trilling's demonstration of Freud's further developing his theories of the ego and the id, we are left with the impression that the Frenchman has prevailed. Briefly, Sartre claims that psychoanalysis is an inauthentic enterprise on two grounds. First, it forces the individual to treat part of his "self," the id, as an object, the source of impulses which are "external phenomena, having their existence apart from the consciousness which constitutes his being." Secondly, the "censor" was thought by Freud to be part of the unconscious mind; yet this device or faculty must be conscious since it must know what drives to repress, and if it knows and yet knows that it must not know, it must be "double-dealing."

In his later work, namely *The Ego and the Id* and *Civilization and its Discontents*, Freud argues that it is not the id alone that is unconscious; the ego, too, has unconscious drives, and it develops some of these, under the influence of social forces, into the superego, which in turn can be "irrational," a faculty of the mind discovered to be in part "gratuitous, beyond the needs of reason and beyond the reach of reason." Thus, we are back to the problem we faced in Hegel's discussion of *Rameau's Nephew*: the individual remains bound to social forces, forces not only much greater than he, but forces necessary to give man his weightiness. Trilling argues that Freud meant to replace God in human experience with just this sense of "energizing pessimism," in which we are presented with "the ineluctability of the pain and frustration of human existence."

Nowhere else in his presentation, except possibly where he discusses Jane Austen's insistence that we are categorically constrained by what we are now, not simply what we may become, does Trilling seem so reluctantly, almost nostalgically, drawn to agree with the view he is examining. The book has throughout the hint of sadness, something like defeat, especially when it concludes that intellectuals, like the society they thrive by criticizing, are condemned to a final frustration. No matter how authentically we may long for a way to be utterly truthful, something escapes from our enterprise. Call it, as Shelley did, the slow stain of the world, or even original sin—though Trilling doesn't name it, its presence in all our affairs is the real occasion of this book. In a famous essay, "On the Modern Element in Modern Literature" which appeared in *Beyond Culture* (1961), Trilling argued that modernism was essentially an attempt to escape society and civilization and to surrender to the anarchy of experience itself. In some ways, this book makes explicit the intellectual history of that movement.

Though dense in some parts and sketchy in others, the volume is an important exploration of two important values. Trilling's intelligence and urbanity are much in evidence in this book, which forces us to ask, as Trilling says Goethe taught us to ask, "But is it true for *me*?" At one point he argues that "Irony is one of those words which are best not talked about if they are to retain any force of meaning." To this strangely anti-intellectual stricture, he adds a parenthesis—"other such words are sincerity and authenticity." To write a book-length study of sincerity might render that value less forceful for us, regardless of how sincere the author might be. A piece of irony, here employed to qualify his stricture about being too consciously ironic.

This is Trilling at his best, and in some ways it is the key to this small but magnificent book. Moral values animate us only if we don't turn them into objects of study; yet we cannot be truly moral unless we realize what animates us. But driven to choose, modern man insists his personal feelings must have validity, even if he finally admits that society can hide the sources of those feelings from him. Anything else would be inauthentic. Or, to put it another way, no matter how our destinies take shape, we want them above all to be demonstrably ours. □

Giant Step, Baby Step & 2 Umbrellas

THE STAR-SPANGLED HUSTLE: White Power and Black Capitalism. *By Arthur I. Blaustein and Geoffrey Faux. Doubleday & Co. 312 pp. $7.95.*

STEWART E. PERRY
Mr. Perry was formerly a planner in economic development at the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In this book, two poverty program professionals have taken a look at minority enterprise programs on the federal level during the past four years. Arthur Blaustein, a journalist associated for years with the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Geoffrey Faux, an economist and the first administrator of OEO's economic development division, have written a history of a federal program that never got off the ground. In their view, the program's prospects for success during the next four years are pretty dim.

The story begins with Nixon's 1968 campaign move toward black voters, his black capitalism pledge. This pledge, built on an accurate assessment of the plight of the black businessman and of blacks in general who seek to enter the business world, was eventually transformed into a broad commitment of business help for all racial minorities. But that commitment, according to the authors, never enjoyed the support of the man assigned to make good on it, Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, who actually complained that his aides in this program embarrassed him because they hired blacks.

The authors give an excellent review of the doleful facts and figures on minority businesses in the United States. But what is most enlightening is their inside story of the bureaucratic and political maneuverings that counteracted anyone in government—and especially in the Commerce Department—who wanted to make good on the President's promise. The authors have built their story on personal interviews with the main actors in this drama, including Stans, Thomas Roeser (the first head of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise), and Berkeley Burrell (who directs the national organization of black businessmen, the National Business League).

What emerges from this book is the conclusion that Stans merely wanted to do something on the public relations level and, indeed, his road shows around the country introducing the nonexistent OMBE programs were a strenuous and at first successful ploy. The program design, built upon a faulty central financial institution (the Minority Enterprise Business Investment Corporation), was arranged in such a way as to all but guarantee its failure.

A more ambitious yet more reasonable program design, proposed by Roeser, was pushed aside and Roeser himself eased out. The infighting between Stans and Sam Wyly, the Texas businessman and Nixon fund raiser who headed the President's Advisory Committee on Minority Business Enterprise, is a fascinating tale that ends with the rejection of the most important and worthwhile recommendations of Wyly's group and its demotion to an appendage of Stans's department. The searching report of the President's Advisory Committee was relegated to obscurity, and the Administration's programs, under Stans's direction, took the form of a proliferation of technical assistance groups. These, of course, have the virtue of being relatively inexpensive, but they do not touch the

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important problem, the need for capital investment funds if minorities and their communities are ever to own, run, and support ther own businesses.

There is a certain air of slapdash analysis in this book, and some last-minute additions that were apparently intended to make it more topical. But in general *The Star-Spangled Hustle* can stand on its own as an effective examination of a federal program that could have been important but ended up mainly as a public relations façade for inaction. The 1972 Presidential campaign produced no Nixon promise to minority businessmen, and it may be that since this sort of public relations is no longer necessary, the program will be quietly shelved. So much for the Department of Commerce as an ally of the struggling minority businessman. □

THEATRE / Harold Clurman

It was Horace Walpole who said that the world is a comedy to those who think and a tragedy to those who feel. Chekhov was both a feeling and a thinking man. I read an article somewhere which set out to prove him more deeply pessimistic than any of the dramatists of the absurd. He has also been called an optimist. All such definitions are beside the mark: I mean the mark of the plays themselves. They are at one and the same time funny and sad. Chekhov sees what is comic in his sad people and what is pathetic in their absurdity. He objected that Stanislavsky had made his characters into "cry babies," but his texts are replete with stage directions which read "weeping," "sobbing." His plays are comedies that provoke tears.

Chekhov's attitude toward his people is at once objective and tender. He recognizes the nobility of their aspirations and the poverty of their actions. He portrays the contradictions in all human behavior. Madame Ranevskaya, the central figure of *The Cherry Orchard*, is generously profligate with her money at the very time when she is most in need of it. Knowingly, she returns to a lover who has betrayed and robbed her. Her brother, Gayev, a man of sweet nature, is spoiled, incompetent, hopelessly sentimental. Lopahin is a gruff capitalist, tasteless, good-hearted, uneducated, respectful of learning, humble and self-assertive. He pleads with the owners of the estate on which the cherry orchard is located to take decisively practical steps to save it for themselves, but when he acquires it he exults in this sign of his wealth and power. In the latest Soviet production he is portrayed as the play's only positive character, because capitalist industry in Russia was a historically necessary development at the end of the 19th century. Some have gone so far as to suggest that Lopahin is in love with Ranevskaya. But he is far too concentrated on his work to be in love with anyone.

Trofimov, the perpetual student, is sure he knows the answer to everything, but he is idealistic to the point of foolishness. The silly housemaid thinks of herself as a delicate flower. The coarse valet, Yasha, is contemptuous of Russian ignorance, and speaks enthusiastically only of France, where all he has learned is to drink champagne and be forward with guileless girls. The thick-headed Pishchik borrows money from everyone but he repays it. (He is probably also being swindled by English business people.) The aged manservant Firs thinks the emancipation of the serfs a misfortune. He takes care of everyone with utmost devotion, but is left alone to die in the deserted house. As he sinks into unconsciousness he murmurs, "Life has gone by, as if I had never lived," which is what many of the moribund probably feel. And he calls himself, as he has called almost everyone else, a "nincompoop," a "clumsy fool," a "good-for-nothing." Both sentiments dwell in the recesses of Chekhov's spirit.

The Cherry Orchard is a personal play, a "parochial" play (since it deals with a specific moment of Russian history and a particular class) and a widely social play. It is also universal: it is appreciated practically everywhere in the civilized world. What makes it universal is Chekhov's vision of the bitter folly of life and the compassion of his acceptance of that condition as a given fact. What binds all his characters together is love, the same rueful love he himself feels for them. Chekhov does not prate or prophesy, but he is fortified by the knowledge that the young will always place hope in the future, something which it is inevitable and right that they do. The speechifying and somewhat ridiculous student says: "Humanity is marching toward a higher truth, to the greatest happiness that it is possible to imagine on earth." "And will you get there?" he is asked. "I shall," the young man answers. "I shall get there on my own or show others how to get there." And Anya, Ranevskaya's daughter, cries out as her mother and the others leave the ancestral home, "It's a new life that's beginning." This youthful sunniness in the dark resides in all of Chekhov's most beloved characters: it was part of himself. Nearly all Chekhov's major plays end with a young person, heartbrokenly or joyously saying very much the same thing. Chekhov's "optimism" is imbued with true wisdom: it is based on a profound substratum of tragic perception. That is what makes his plays reach beyond his time and place.

The Cherry Orchard is now being played by an all black cast at the Public Theatre. I am not sure I'm able to judge its production without preconceptions: I

GIRL'S DANCE SONG
(Translated from the Portuguese by Willard Trask)

Beloved and my lover—
God in heaven!—
look at the flower of the pine,
make ready to go!

Lover and my beloved—
God in heaven!—
look at the flower on the branch,
make ready to go!

Look at the flower of the pine—
God in heaven!—
saddle your favorite bay,
make ready to go!

Look at the flower on the branch—
God in heaven!—
saddle your best horse,
make ready to go!

Saddle your favorite bay—
God in heaven!—
Be quick, alas, my lover,
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have seen the play countless times, going back to 1923, when the original Moscow Art Theatre presentation with Stanislavsky and Olga Knipper (Chekhov's widow) and the entire cast which first acted it in 1904 was being shown in Paris. I would nevertheless say that the Public Theatre effort is a creditable one and that in it the play still lives.

There are several readily discernible flaws. It is a mistake, for instance, to have various characters use Russian expressions and sing songs in Russian. It is also false to have Chekhov's people speak of the French capital as "Paree." (Only Yasha with his vulgar Francophilistinism uses French in the original.) Also, little bits of contemporary emphasis are tastelessly introduced, as in the scene where the passing wayfarers are made to appear menacing, to suggest the rebel poor of the future in relation to the rich. In this scene, Lopahin (as a "liberal" capitalist!), believing that the gentry are being threatened, draws a pistol—an entirely gratuitous and improbable gesture.

These are minor blemishes: there are others. Firs, for example, though very old, need not be played as if he were 150. I might go on to indicate other misguided interpretations. But this would be unwarrantedly captious: the play calls for the most careful staging and that requires many months of meticulous rehearsal. What this and other non-Russian productions I have seen most crucially lack is a quality of soulfulness which makes even a life of dismal failure take on a dignity and grandeur beyond its pettiest pains. It is a quality often found in Russian (and Negro) folk melodies.

Gloria Foster as Ranevskaya plays in a muted key which lends a special warmth to her performance. Ellen Holly as Ranevskaya's adopted daughter, Varya, who desires but misses marriage to Lopahin, is touching. Earle Hyman makes a sympathetically fragile Gayev. Robert Jackson brings an unusual eloquence to the role of Trofimov. Suzanne Johnson is pretty and sweet as Anya, and James Earl Jones is an excellently ingratiating Lopahin. □

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RECORDS

DAVID HAMILTON

BERLIOZ: *Benvenuto Cellini.* Christiane Eda-Pierre (soprano), Teresa; Jane Berbié (mezzo-soprano), Ascanio; Nicolai Gedda (tenor), Cellini; Robert Massard (baritone), Fieramosca; Jules Bastin (bass), Balducci; Roger Soyer (bass), Pope Clement VII. Chorus of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden; BBC Symphony Orchestra, Colin Davis, cond. Philips 6707 019. $27.92 (four discs).

Berlioz's operatic formulation of the Romantic artist-hero legend does not lack problems of structure and continuity, further complicated by a history of revisions that never achieved a definitive state. This recording employs a composite of the original *opéra comique* setting (with dialogue) and revisions made for later performances—thus hypothetical, but an acceptable basis for recording in that it preserves a maximum of music. The composer's own libretto has certain similarities to the typical Hollywood biographical screenplay, providing genre scenes, love interest and various less than earthshaking happenings set around the central character—and like the Hollywood product, it doesn't quite work: the genre scenes impede theatrical progress, the ladylove remains less a character than the other half of a love duet, and the intrigues are of somewhat unheroic stature. Only the music—inventive, colorful, humorous, often brilliant—consistently reflects the level of achievement to which this hero should aspire; fortunately, on records it is more than enough. A superior performance, on the whole, particularly graced by Gedda's honest, full-toned work in the title role. Here and there, details are less finely honed than in the same conductor's recording of Berlioz's *Les Troyens*, but these deficiencies are happily offset by the serious effort in *Cellini* to cast with native French singers, to vastly more idiomatic effect.

ROSSINI: *Il Barbiere di Siviglia.* Teresa Berganza (mezzo-soprano), Rosina; Luigi Alva (tenor), Count Almaviva; Hermann Prey (baritone), Figaro; Enzo Dara (bass), Doctor Bartolo; Paolo Montarsolo (bass), Don Basilio. Ambrosian Opera Chorus; London Symphony Orchestra; Claudio Abbado, cond. Deutsche Grammophon 2720 053. $20.94 (three discs).

A trio of unself-conscious virtuosos (Berganza, Alva, Dara), finely tuned and pointed playing, a refurbished musical text that gives the ear fresh evidence of Rossini's orchestral skill—these make for an enjoyable performance as well as a literally faithful one. For a non-native, Prey does notably well at the patter, but elsewhere strains at heartiness; the Basilio is rather rough, but characterful. Too bad that the scholarly attention did not extend to absolute completeness; in particular, the big *scena* for the Count in the last scene is missing (it can be heard only in the Leinsdorf recording on RCA, which however employs a soprano Rosina rather than the prescribed mezzo and thus entails an assortment of other compromises). But it all plays well, if with a somewhat subdued *brio*; an atypical sweetness hovers over the phrasing, the orchestra often muted and suggestive of "horns of Elfland faintly blowing." Somehow, the style isn't quite right, but rather at one remove: a perfectly refined nostalgia for the authentic style—which is much preferable to no style at all, in any case.

VERDI: *Messa da Requiem.* Mirella Freni, soprano; Christa Ludwig, alto; Carlo Cossutta, tenor; Nicolai Ghiaurov, bass; Wiener Singverein; Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra; Herbert von Karajan, cond. Deutsche Grammophon 2707 065. $13.96 (two discs).

Karajan's characteristic concern with texture at the expense of momentum is not a satisfactory recipe for this conspicuously momentous work. So much is obviously well done—solo and choral singing, playing, balancing—and yet something is so palpably missing, for nothing really *happens* in the performance, which runs like sable clockwork on mink bearings. There is a style here, I suppose, but seldom has performing style side-stepped musical substance so completely; the sense of forward motion through lines to goals has been so muted that the piece might have been played backwards to almost equal effect. □

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Crossword Puzzle No. 1474

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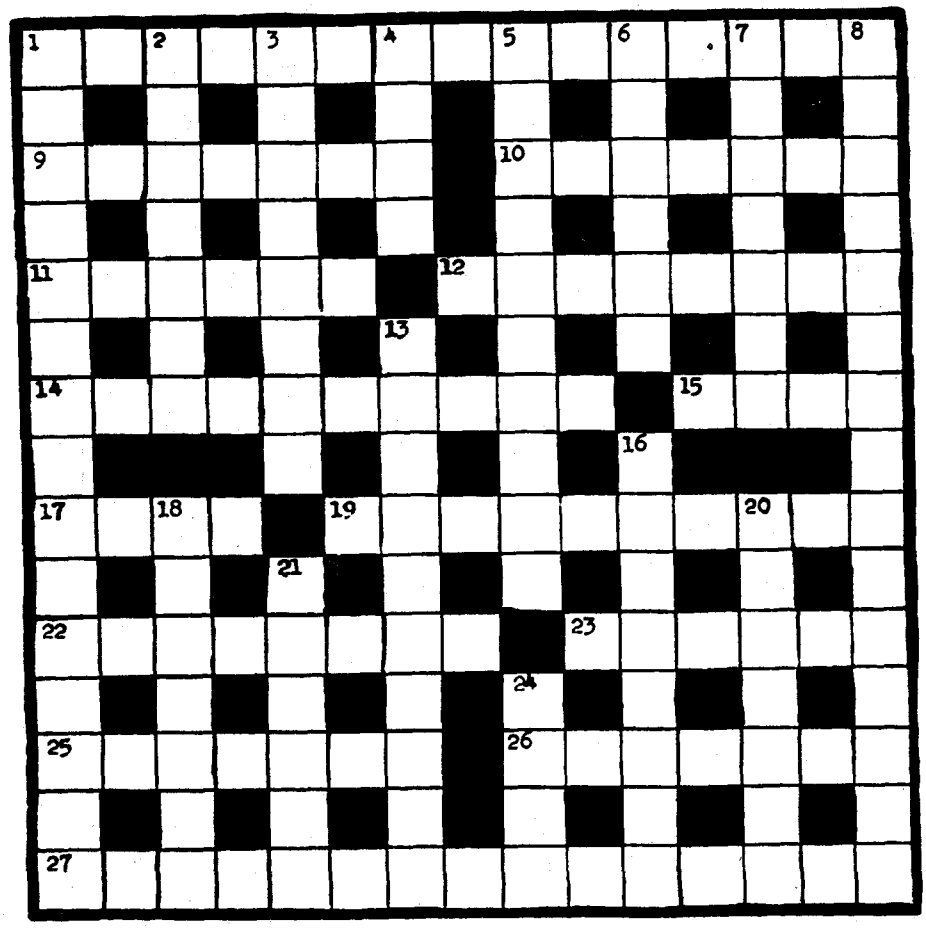

ACROSS

1 Novel description of baseball player who has managed to get into the liquor cabinet? (7,2,3,3)
9 Certainly not a tiny drop of water. (7)
10 There's something twisted about his sort, and in the main might be expected to put up quite a battle. (7)
11 Well-spent, according to one description of snobs. (6)
12 Attempt to t around a sure counterfeit money ply here? (8)
14 Leaves the emises sick at heart, and can't make his mind? (10)
15 Not ex the same as a table of heights.
17 Proving at racing gear should be sharp, but might be hard for the service. (4)
19 Indeed, if it is cut up, it's still recognized. (10)
22 And indeed so, if cut up, a partial solution. (3-5)
23 Yet he made a brave and successful attempt at play! (6)
25 A regular little demon, concerning the laying on of color! (7)
26 Like a pessimistic literary croaker, taking cover in disguise. (7)
27 Not the same damn comment, sent according to the old law! (3,12)

DOWN

1 Naturally, one is concerned with our wealth. (15)
2 Trade movement implied by it. (7)
3 The sort of liar they regard with enthusiam. (8)
4 Concerning the morning papers? (4)
5 Were Nolan's mixed up with jazz style? (3,7)
6 He was this, and he didn't do right by her, to name one. (6)
7 In an emergency, give people at least room. (7)
8 Nothing gained by it, but it's what the magician might frequently display. (5-10)
13 Such an act might imply giving ground, in a way. (4,6)
16 A fundamental part of the mass, with the record being in Mark-I condition. (8)
18 In a way, each writer is lower in value. (7)
20 Once descriptive of a fine hand. (7)
21 Not a successful production, if coming up on like business enterprise, in brief. (6)
24 Take a meter reading, perhaps. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1473

ACROSS: 1 Stews; 4 Fences; 11 Bookish; 12 Ukulele; 13 Unhelpful; 14 Lapse; 15 Recollections; 17 Stilton cheese; 22 Relic; 24 Roosevelt; 25 Forearm; 26 Leaning; 27 Loathe; 28 Staff. DOWN: 2 Trochee; 3 Whirlpool; 5 Equal; 6 Cheapen; 7 Skewer; 8 About; 9 The fall of Rome; 10 Public schools; 16 Inelegant; 18 Talaria; 19 Sheriff; 20 Artful; 21 and 23 Stagecoach.

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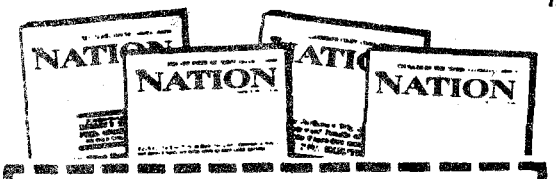

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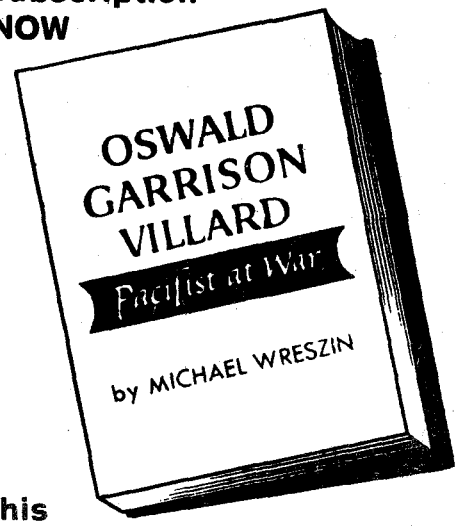

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